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AN ILLUSTRATION

OF THE

MONASTIC HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

TOWN AND ABBEY

OF

ST. EDMUND'S BURY.

BY THE REVEREND RICHARD YATES, F.S.A.

OF JESUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE:

CHAPLAIN TO HIS MAJESTY'S ROYAL HOSPITAL, CHELSEA;

AND RECTOR OF ESSA, ALIAS ASHEN.

WITH VIEWS OF THE MOST CONSIDERABLE

MONASTERIAL REMAINS;

BY THE REVEREND WILLIAM YATES,

OF SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

Ruina sane splendida, quam quicunque intueatur, et admiretur, et simul commisereatur.

CAMDEN.

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BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF BRISTOL,

AND

SIR CHARLES DAVERS, BARONET,

WHO WERE IN SEVERAL PARLIAMENTS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE BOROUGH OF
ST. EDMUND'S BURY,
WHICH ELECTED THE FIRST TEMPORAL PARLIAMENTARY GUARDIAN
OF ITS RIGHTS FROM THEIR NOBLE ANCESTORS,

THIS ILLUSTRATION OF THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THAT ANTIENT AND CELEBRATED TOWN,

WHOSE ABBEY, BY THE VENERABLE REMAINS OF ITS FORMER
SPLENDOUR AND MAGNIFICENCE,
DOES NOT MORE CLAIM THE ADMIRATION OF ALL OBSERVERS,
THAN THE URBANITY
THAT PERMITS AN UNRESTRAINED EXAMINATION OF THEM DEMANDS
THEIR GRATITUDE,

AS A TESTIMONY OF PROFOUND ESTEEM,
AND A TRIBUTE OF GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT,

IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED BY

THEIR MOST OBLIGED,
MOST OBEDIENT, AND
MOST HUMBLE SERVANT,

RICHARD YATES.

PREFACE.

THE Monastery of St. Edmund's Bury acquired and maintained, during a long succession of ages, a very distinguished and extended celebrity. In magnificent buildings, splendid decorations, and extensive possessions, it was equalled by few; and its immunities and privileges, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, rendered it superior to most of the Conventual Establishments in England. The venerable remains, in their present fallen condition, indicate its former grandeur; and it is impossible to contemplate them without a degree of admiration that renders the flourishing state of these stupendous sacred edifices an interesting subject of enquiry.

It has been matter of surprize, that no Antiquary has hitherto supplied any regular and comprehensive History of this Abbey. The unfinished work of Dr. Batteley, and a small anonymous publication, are the only attempts to gratify the public curiosity that preceded the Proposals for the present Work. In some measure to supply this deficiency, and to offer an Historic Illustration of the rise, progress, meridian grandeur, and present state of these memorials

morials of the piety and liberality of our ancestors, is the purpose of the following sheets.

That no full and satisfactory history of this noble establishment has hitherto appeared, cannot have proceeded either from the subject being viewed as too inconsiderable, or from a paucity of materials.

Its magnitude and importance are still evident; and the literary remains are sufficiently ample to form a large work; but the most authentic documents are not calculated, in an unpublished and unarranged state, to afford satisfaction to the generality of enquirers. The number of Monastic Registers which have escaped the ravages of Time is greater than has fallen to the lot of many similar institutions. The first and most considerable source of information is to be found in these MSS. clouded and obscured by superstition and fiction, written in an obsolete character and dead language, and covered with the dust of ages, in some of the celebrated depositories of Learning.

Another object of investigation is afforded in the Ancient Charters and Royal Grants preserved in the various Public Offices.

Many circumstances, tending to illustrate some doubtful points in such a History, might perhaps be obtained from a careful examination of Records, Deeds, Leases, &c. relative to the numerous Estates and Manors formerly possessed by the Abbot and Convent.

These

These objects of research, though far removed from common observation, have some of them engaged the attention of a few learned men; parts of them have at different times been given to the publick, but chiefly blended with general Monastic History in large and expensive publications.

The Registers and other MS unpublished authorities, together with most of these printed works, have been consulted, and an extensive collection has been extracted from them, comprising all such parts as seemed to afford the best descriptive and historic elucidation.

The first object, in forming and disposing the following Chapters, has been to select and arrange the multifarious and detached materials, with as little repetition as possible of similar circumstances, into a regular order; to condense the whole into a narrative, exhibiting, as far as the nature of the subject admitted, a connected, and, where necessary, a chronological succession of historic events; and to afford a distinct and comprehensive view of Monastic Establishments, Officers, Habits, and Employments.

The minute, detailed, and elaborate manner, in which Topographical History and Antiquarian Researches have been presented to the publick in the present age, may, perhaps, give rise to expectations respecting a History of Bury that a perusal of this Work will not be able to gratify. When contrasted with the voluminous

voluminous descriptions that have been written of less important establishments, it may be thought that this concise and compressed account does not afford that ample justice the extent and dignity of the subject demands.

Two observations are likely to occur to the learned Antiquary in looking over the following pages, and which may, perhaps, be stated as objections: first, that several articles and descriptions are here introduced that may be found in various other publications; with which all persons conversant in Monastic History are already well acquainted.

The other is, that many particulars, and much information contained in the Registers and other MS documents, which might be acceptable to the Antiquary, are here omitted.

In answer to these, it may be observed, that many enquirers are desirous of obtaining information respecting such curious remains, and yet are unwilling to purchase an expensive book. The primary consideration, therefore, has been to make a selection that might be acceptable to general readers, without swelling the book with articles that are pleasing to none but the professed Antiquary. The chief part of the plan here adopted being to afford a perspicuous and entertaining narrative, it has not been thought necessary to enter upon profound and difficult investigations, or to discuss points of abstruse and laborious Antiquarian research. Some opposite and

contending

contending authorities have, however, been carefully compared and examined; and the opinions that appeared to be best supported are adopted: and, it is hoped, that several subjects of disquisition, though only incidentally touched upon, will not be found altogether uninteresting.

The greater part of the visitants have been observed to wish for information respecting the various buildings, and their several purposes; the officers of the Monastery; and the general manners of the establishment. On this account observations on these things, most of which are common to all Monastic Institutions, have been allowed to engage a larger portion of attention than may be thought necessary by those to whom such subjects are familiar; though, at the same time, it will be found that the utmost care has been employed to blend with these general observations such circumstances as appeared interesting respecting the particular establishment under consideration.

The MS accounts preserved in the Registers and Offices are sufficiently abundant to have afforded several volumes; but, though they contain many particulars worthy the attention of the Antiquary, and are chiefly composed of materials that might certainly have this claim to novelty,—that they have never been published,—yet would they most undoubtedly subject any work that introduced them, to the general inconveniences of Local History, as defined by a modern elegant writer * — "Size, Expence, & Soporific Qualities."

* Williams's History of Monmouthshire.

Charters, Grants, Papal Bulls, Benefactors Wills, Rent Rolls, Presentations, Leases, and Documents of a similar description, are therefore not generally inserted at length in this Work. They are, indeed, so numerous, that this could not have been done without enhancing the price in a very considerable degree.

The sources of information that are less public, calls me to the discharge of a most pleasing and gratifying duty — the acknowledgment of obligation to the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Friends, who have honoured me with communications, or granted me the use of their Libraries.

If this Work should be found to afford any gratification to the admirers of those splendid remains of which it treats; their gratitude, as well as mine, will be due to the Right Honourable the Earl of Bristol, who first recommended the execution of the Copper Plates, and the extension of the plan to its present form.

To Sir Charles Davers I beg leave to offer my best thanks, for the politeness and liberality with which he permitted me to inspect the papers in his possession, relative to the Abbey Estate, and some of its former privileges.

His Grace the Duke of Norfolk, with the readiness and condescension that mark his intercourse with literary men, honoured me with permission to examine his Library and Documents respecting various

various parts of the Monasterial possessions of the Abbot and Convent of *St. Edmund's Bury*.

The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of LINCOLN supplied me with some observations that will enhance the authenticity and value of the Work, and which, together with the urbanity of the communication, demand my grateful acknowledgments.

The Reverend Mr. MILLS kindly permitted my Brother to make a drawing from a curious specimen of painted glass, formerly belonging to the Abbot's Palace, and now in his possession, supposed to represent St. Edmund's Head; and which forms the centre subject of the second Plate. To this gentleman I am also indebted for the use of the *Collectanea Buriensia*, deposited under his care in the Library of St. James's Church.

The late THOMAS ASTLE, Esq. communicated several particulars from his valuable and extensive MS Collection.

The Reverend GEORGE ASHBY, of Barrow, obligingly gave his opinion upon several points of dubious authority; and permitted a transcript to be made, for the use of this Work, of the various particulars he had collected respecting the Monastery and Town of Bury.

The Honourable Mr. NASSAU, who purchased most of the drawings and sketches taken from the Abbey of Bury by the late

Mr. Rooker, generously permitted my Brother to collate his drawings with those of the same subject by that ingenious and accurate Artist.

P. J. Case, Esq.; J. Ward, Esq.; F. Sandys, Esq.; —— Pate, Esq.; Thomas Dickinson, Esq.; John Nichols, Esq.; and several other Gentlemen whose names are unfortunately mislaid from their communications, are requested to accept of this acknowledgment of grateful obligation for the politeness with which they afforded assistance.

To the liberality and friendship of Richard Gough, Esq. I am under peculiar obligation. — It is well known that the late celebrated Antiquary, Thomas Martyn, of Palgrave, was an enthusiastic admirer of the Monastic Antiquities of Bury, that he intended writing a History of them, and was employed during many years in making a preparatory Collection for that purpose; but, unfortunately, did not live to give the publick the result of his inquiries. After passing into several hands, the part of his collection that related to Bury was purchased by Mr. Gough; who, with the generosity that distinguishes his character, and renders it a noble example for all literary men of wealth, has permitted me to incorporate into this Work Mr. Martyn's Collections respecting the various parts of the History and Antiquities of Bury. Such of the observations as I previously possessed from the same authorities that Mr. Martyn had taken them, are referred to these original authorities;

rities; but, in all other instances, the assistance derived from his Collection is acknowledged in the notes by the letters T. M.

In all cases particular attention has been given to point out the various authorities. It is only in a very few instances that they will be found to have been entirely omitted. In the early stages of the Collection some extracts and observations were made without noticing the authorities: in the progress of the Work some of them were supplied; but it has been found impossible entirely to correct this accidental omission; though, where the same circumstance is mentioned by several writers, it has not always been thought necessary to refer to them all.

The Plates, I trust, will appear to be executed in a style of accuracy and elegance seldom equalled, and never exceeded by works of similar magnitude, containing the same number of plates, and offered at the same price. The drawings were all made by my Brother, with the most laborious regard to truth of delineation; and, as they were all finished and corrected upon the spot from the original objects, it is hoped they will be found to possess no inconsiderable portion of that first requisite of excellence, an exact portraiture of the object delineated, without any adventitious additions of a fanciful and incorrect taste. The apprehensions of my Brother, as an Amateur Artist, on first submitting to the public eye his efforts in an Art, which he only cultivates as an occasional relaxation to the more severe studies of Classical and

Scholastic

Scholastic pursuits, were in a great measure relieved by the unequivocal and gratifying approbation of HENRY BUNBURY, Esq. the productions of whose fascinating pencil, as they afford a general gratification, have long enjoyed the meed of general applause.

Neither labour nor expence have been spared, to render the whole Work not altogether unworthy the highly-honourable Patronage which the very respectable List of Subscribers has conferred on it. To their candour, and that of a liberal Publick, it is presented with every sentiment of respect, and with the diffidence properly attendant on the first essay of an inexperienced Author; who hopes that the errors and imperfections of his production may find an apology at the bar of candid criticism, in the assiduity of his endeavours to contribute a small portion to the fund of public amusement and information; and who will feel the highest satisfaction should this attempt to illustrate the former magnificence and present state of these interesting Antiquities afford any gratification to the inhabitants and occasional visitors of the Town and neighbourhood; and at the same time be found to offer to the general reader an elucidation of Monastic History, and present some observations and subjects of investigation not entirely undeserving the attention of the learned and judicious Antiquary.

And here also filial duty and gratitude entreat the indulgence of paying a deserved tribute of affection to the memory of a most kind and honoured Parent. A residence of thirty-seven years within

within the walls of the Abbey, and a love of Antiquarian enquiries, had rendered these awful ruins peculiarly interesting to him; and he employed the few leisure intervals, which indefatigable exertions in discharge of his more important duties allowed, in forming an illustrative Collection, which he was very desirous of having further extended. To gratify the wishes of an indulgent Father was, therefore, the first occasion of undertaking this Work, and adds another attestation to the numerous instances of the frailty of all earthly hope. When it was far advanced in preparation for the Press, the Omnipotent Disposer of all Events was pleased to summon him to the reward of his piety and virtues, and his children to the solemn duty of following his mortal remains to an early grave. Those who, like me, have suffered so sudden and so irreparable a loss, and those who notice with sympathy the sigh of duteous sensibility, will readily pardon the sorrow of a Son for intruding itself upon these pages, and joining in those public testimonies of respect that were its greatest consolation.

R. Y.

Jan. 1, 1805.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

NAMES AND ORIGINAL STATE OF BURY.

Obscurity and uncertainty of early History — Etymology — Britons — Roman Station — Villa Faustini — Opinions of Antiquaries on this Name — Habyrdon — Villæ Regiæ — Saxon Name Bedericksworth — Abbo Floriacencis — Monastic Registers' Account of Bederic — Weight due to these Authorities — Another Derivation — Ellis and Turner — Bury, Meaning of this Name — Antique Sculptures — Opinions on them — First Plate — Original State of the Town.

THE obscurity of the remote periods of local history renders it impossible to give a very satisfactory account of the original formation and early growth of towns of considerable antiquity: this is particularly the case of St. Edmund's Bury.

The weak and glimmering light of etymological disquisition can afford but little assistance in penetrating the gloom: investigations thus pursued have given rise to opinions so various and discordant that they appear to have involved the subject in additional uncertainty.

Enquirers have been led astray by the guide they had adopted, and thus became entangled in the mazes of learned and fanciful hypothesis.

It is not intended to detail all that has been written upon this subject; such a narrative would be equally tedious and unprofitable: a concise statement of the most judicious and probable opinions may be thought sufficient.

Whether the ancient Britons had any town or establishment upon the site that Bury now occupies, is impossible to determine. Some antiquaries have thought they discovered in its present name, and also in its former one, the indications of a British origin: these pretensions will not be passed over without some further notice.

That the Romans had a station here seems probable: it is generally believed, that the earliest written information respecting this town is to be found in the Itinerary of Antoninus; and that it is in that work called *Villa Faustini*, or the seat of Faustinus. This opinion has been adopted by Burton, Talbot, and Camden; writers justly celebrated for their skill and industry in the study of antiquities.

The etymology of this name is uncertain. Camden and Batteley have employed some critical disquisition upon it*; but without coming to any positive decision.

Historians not being able to give any satisfactory account of Faustinus, some have been induced to believe it should be written

* Camden, Iceni: — Batteley, p. 1. et. seq.

Villa

Villa Faustina, as if it were derived from *faustus,* fortunate, prosperous, or pleasant; and signified the pleasant or happy town.

In Burton's Commentary on the Itinerary it is supposed that this is the station described by Antoninus as situated 35 miles beyond *Camulodunum* *, or Colchester. — And Baxter, in his Glossary, is of opinion that the commander of the 14th Legion held his Prætorium here.

Salmon, p. 43 and 44, fixes *Villa Faustina* at Maldon in Essex; but his opinion, though followed by some, has not been adopted by the generality of writers.

Others have doubted whether Bury be the *Villa Faustini,* because they could never hear of any Roman antiquities found there; but at Welnetham Magna† A. D. 1701, Sir R. Gipps found the head of a Roman spear, a sacrificing knife, vessels, coins, bricks, and pateras; one inscribed ANISI. M. These things seem undeniably to prove the place a Roman station; yet, it is possible, that Welnetham, *i. e. Silvosa habitatio,* might only be the burying place, and Bury the station, *Villa Faustini.*

Blomefield‡ thinks this station was at Bury, and observes that in the road from Ickburgh to Bury a large "Milliare" was lately to be seen.

That this was the original state of Bury seems further probable, because some antiquaries have observed, that in a meadow, called

* That Camulodunum was on the site of Colchester, see Morant's Colchester.

† Collect. Buriens. 4to.

‡ Blomefield, Norfolk, v. I. p. 528.

Habyrdon, which lies contiguous to Bury, there seem to be remains of ancient intrenchments and Roman aggera.

But these circumstances and authorities have not satisfied many learned and ingenious antiquaries with respect to this point; some thinking Woolpit, and others Icklingham, more likely to be the site of *Villa Faustina* *.

Some † Roman antiquities, coins, &c. have been lately found at Icklingham; which ascertain that it was, at least, in some manner attrached to the station.

It is however noticed by Bede, that the *Villæ Regiæ* of the Saxon times were generally placed in those situations which had formerly been Roman stations; and it is allowed by most writers that, when the Saxons established themselves in this part of Britain, this became one of their royal towns, and was by them named Bebe-ricg-ȝueorþ Bedericsgueord, which ‡ Abbo Floriacensis explains *Bederici cortis*, the Court or Villa of Bederic; and expressly calls the town *Villa Regia*.

* In the collection of the reverend George Ashby of Barrow, he doubts the pretensions of Bury to be Villa Faustina; and refers to Reynolds's edition of Antoninus; and observes that Villa in Antoninus does not occur as a town's name, except once in Africa, p. 60.

When England was thin of Roman towns, a single house belonging to a private person might serve, upon a pinch, for a station.

Another gentleman has furnished this derivation of *Villa Faustini* —
VILLA F.ratris AUSTINI.

† Now in the possession of P. J. Case, Esq. the Bishop's register at Bury.

‡ Abbo Flor. MS. Bibl. Cot. Coll. Buriens.

This

This name, like the former, has given occasion to much conjecture.

The compilers of the Abbey registers all appear to follow the opinion of Abbo: one states that "Bederic was lord of the "town, and appointed St. Edmund his heir:" another says "the "messuage and garden now occupied by the infirmary were for-"merly the mansion of Bederic, the ancient Lord of the town, "and from whom it was named Bedericksworth." The same description is found in a charter of Philip and Mary: "Before "the Conquest, Bederic was Lord of this town: he was seised "of the said town in his demesne as his fee, and being thus "seised before the death and martyrdom of St. Edmund, he con-"stituted St. Edmund his heir *."

Documents thus clear and explicit might seem to establish this point beyond the reach of controversy; but if we consider the want of accurate investigation, so evident in the monkish annalists, and, what is equally conspicuous in their works, the propensity to adorn with fictitious splendour the history of their Patrons and establishments, these authorities may perhaps lose much of their apparent weight: and, indeed, our most respectable antiquaries have concluded that nothing is known with certainty of the history, or even the existence, of Bederic.

Camden †, and some others, have thought they discerned in this name the Roman appellation of the town, and that Bederic

* Batteley, p. 3. Reg. Rub. f. 1. MS. Bib. Coll. Trin. Cantabr. Regist. Pynchlake's.

† Camden, Iceni.

signifies

signifies pleasant, prosperous, happy, the same as Faustus in Latin; but some late learned enquirers, dissatisfied with the labours of their predecesors in the field of etymology, have thought that the Saxon name *Bedericksworth* might, without recurring either to the explanation of Camden, or that of Abbo, be satisfactorily derived, as designating the superior distinction and peculiar appropriation of the place to religious worship. Bed, *Bede*, prayer or request; ric, or rice, rice, power, authority, government; and as geard, gueord, is in all the registers and historians called worth, or wyrthe, it most probably is taken for ford; which signifies a town. From this derivation then *Bedericksworth* may mean the town that has authority or pre-eminence in prayer; and might denote it to be the chief or superior place of worship *.

BURY,

* Mr. Henry Ellis, of the British Museum, and Sharon Turner, Esq. the Historian of the Anglo Saxons, both gentlemen well skilled in Saxon literature, have, with much politeness and liberality, communicated the following critical observations in illustration and support of the derivation given above.

Extract from Mr. Ellis's Letter.

Bed is *prayer*, not altogether *worship*. From the Saxon biddan, *to ask* or *petition*. Refer to the very word in Spelman's Psalter, Ps. xxxvi. 6. The commissioners at the dissolution of monasteries very frequently subscribed themselves Lord Cromwell's *Bedesmen*.

ric or rice means *power* in a certain way: ric sometimes answers to the Latin *regio*, and sometimes to *regnum*. In the Saxon Gospells, Matt. 3. 5. Eal þ rice is Omnis ista *regio*; again, Mark i. 5. Iudeirce rice, Judaica *regio*; but Matt. vi. 33. Godes rice is Dei *regnum*; and Matt. iii. 2. heofona rice. The vestige of this word in Bishop*rick* is, I believe, the only one we have, unless it be in the *names of any of our Towns*. I have read King*rick* in some publication so late as Queen Elizabeth's time.

geard I see nothing of in the Saxon Dictionaries: I rather think the word you want is ford, or ford, which signifies *a Town*. Manning, in Lye's Dictionary, gives these explanations of it: "Ford, i. q. Feordig, Fordig, Fundus, prædium, Platea vicus, "Atrium.

Bury, the present name of the town, has also been thought to intimate its antiquity, and carry back our attention to the early ages of British independence, by supposing that *Bury* or *Beri* is used to denote an ancient British strong-hold, or military station in a thick part of a wood surrounded by a ditch, as described by Julius Cæsar. But this opinion does not appear to rest on any substantial foundation.

Burg, Borough, Bury, Bure, Beri, appear from a comparison of many authorities to be only different ways of spelling the same Saxon term; and signify *, in general, a fortified port, a place

" Atrium. Inde nomina locorum tam incipientia quam definentia in *Worth*, ut " *Wortham*, *Worthington*, *Wandesworth*, &c."

In the neighbourhood of Oxford we have a desolated village, of which little more than its name is left; though, so late as Edward the Third's time, it abounded in inns for the reception of pilgrims travelling to the second Edward's shrine at Gloucester. Its name was *Seckworth*, q. ꝛecg-poꝛð, the Soldiers *Town*. Mr. Turner's communication agrees entirely with this of Mr. Ellis.

* Camden's Remains, p. 95. Blomfield's Norfolk, vol. I. p. 135.

Mr. Ellis observes, " I think there can be no possible distinction between *Beri*, *Burgh*, and *Bury*. In the Saxon, beꝛig, biꝛig, buꝛg, buꝛh, buꝛhg, buꝛug, buꝛuh, bẏꝛig, &c. are all pretty near if not quite synonymous, and may be rendered urbs, oppidum, civitas. There is scarcely any language in which so great allowance must be made for the interchange of vowels as the Saxon. *Bury*, as far as I can find, never occurs for a corporation or sodality of men. The word answering to the Latin *Municipatus* is buꝛh-ꝛæden: ꝛeð I need hardly add is *Counsel*. So, *wicked* REDE in the first Psalm of Sternhold and Hopkins."

Extract of a Letter from Sharon Turner, Esq.

" The Saxons used *Burg*, and sometimes *Burh*, to express a town, or castle, or " strong-hold. The ancient British word for the same thing was Caer. *Burig* and

" *Buruh*

a place of defence, or a town. All places that retain this name have without doubt been places of more than common distinction. In honour of a chief or patron his name was frequently subjoined; and when the celebrity of St. Edmund's name became extensive, about A. D. 925, *Bedericksworth,* the appellation by which the town appears to have been distinguished for nearly the preceding two centuries, was exchanged for its present name—ST. EDMUND'S BURY.

That this was a town of note previous to the establishment of Christianity in it, seems farther probable from some remarkable specimens of antient sculpture that were dug up in the spring of 1783. In breaking up some foundations in the north wall of St. Edmund's church adjoining to St. Faith's chapel, and near the chapter house, four antique heads were discovered; they are cut out of single blocks of free stone, something larger than the natural proportion. The execution indicates a state of the arts rude and uncultivated; and it is not easy to assign the purpose of them, or the subjects they were intended to represent, as the distinguishing characteristics are not very discernible.

They were found at the very bottom of the foundation, upon the natural soil, with the faces downwards: this peculiarity of situation seems rather remarkable, as no other blocks of stone, of magnitude in any degree equal to them, were taken out of that part of the foundation. This circumstance, therefore, may,

" *Buruh* were also used by the Saxons to denote a town. Their words *Ceastr* and " *Ceaster* were synonymous to the above, and probably taken from the Roman term " *Castrum.*"

Morant, vol. II. p. 460, observes that the word *Bury* commonly signifies a capital mansion.

perhaps,

perhaps, be thought to intimate the opinion of the Christian builders, that these heads were Heathen remains.

They have been viewed and considered by many antiquaries; and the first impression has generally been found to favour the supposition of their being intended as representations of Roman divinities.

They might, perhaps, have formed corbels, or some other decoration of a temple, the ruins of which might afterwards be employed in constructing the church; and on this supposition, they may be allowed to afford some little confirmation of that which has been already stated in proof of this town having been a Roman station.

Or they may have been the work of the natives, after the Legionary troops and Roman artists were withdrawn; and, in this case also, we may conclude them to be the productions of an age anterior to the establishment of Christianity, from the marked disrespect of the situation in which they were discovered.

Some, who thought the style of execution Saxon, have also thought, from the circumstance of the hinder part of the head being attached, that they might originally have formed a part of recumbent figures on the top of Royal Sarcophagi.

The heads are still preserved in the Abbey garden; and a drawing of them forms part of the subject of the first plate.

Whatever opinion respecting these relicks of antiquity is thought to possess most probability, the discovery of them tends to aug-

ment and strengthen the pretensions of Bury to some considerable repute and distinction in the remote ages of British history, although no particular account of it has been transmitted to us.

But whatever may have been its original state, it very early acquired a considerable celebrity, from the fame of its sainted patron, and the grandeur and riches of its monastic establishment, an illustration of which is the more particular object of this work.

CHAP.

CHAPTER II.

FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY.

East Anglia — Boundaries — Establishment of the Monarchy — Uffa — Titil — Redwald — Christianity planted — Overthrown by Saxon Invasion — St. Austin converts the Saxons — Eorpwald — Sigbercht — banished — recalled — Felix the Burgundian — Conversion of the East Anglians — Secular Priests — Church and Monastery built — Sigbercht becomes a Monk — Question between Cnobersburgh and Bury examined — Invasion of Penda — Sigbercht's Death — Anna — Ethelbert assassinated — Miracles at Bury — Egbert — Edmund.

A CONSIDERABLE portion of that division of Britain, the inhabitants of which were by the Roman writers named *Iceni*, was, on the successful invasion of the Saxons, formed into a distinct government, and distinguished by the title of the kingdom of *East Anglia*. This included the tract of country afterwards divided into the present counties of Norfolk and Suffolk *, with the greater part of Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely.

On the North East and East the German Ocean formed a natural barrier; on the South the river Stour divided it from the kingdom of the East Saxons or Essex; and on the West and North West, it abutted on the kingdom of Mercia; but here the exact boundary cannot be easily ascertained. Most writers have thought

* Martin's Thetford, p. 13.

that the stupendous effort of human labour, from its immensity now called *The Devil's Ditch*, on Newmarket-heath, was thrown up to separate Mercia from East Anglia, and form a rampart for their mutual defence. This opinion seems first to have been recorded by Abbo Floriacensis, who says, that "East Anglia is al-"most on every side washed by water — on the East and North "East by the ocean; on the North by immense marshes *(uligine)*, "which, on account of the flatness of the lands, extend very far; "and on the West part is a ditch and mound like a lofty wall "*(aggere ad instar altioris muri fossa humo *)*."

The monastic writers in after-ages termed it *St. Edmund's Ditch*; and in this they have been followed by many antiquaries and historians.

The precise year in which the Saxon chiefs established their power cannot with accuracy be determined.

At some period near A. D. 500, the East Anglian state was occupied by the Saxons, though it was not entirely conquered, and the monarchy established till after 530 †. The ancient historians give various and contradictory accounts of these transactions ‡. Upon a comparison of these contending chronological authorities, it may with probability be concluded, that the establishment of Uffa, as King of East Anglia, was about A. D. 530;

* Abbo Flori. p. 1. MS. Cott. Bibl. Tiberius, B. 2. Batteley, p. 41. Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. I. p. 383. Speed, 326. Holinshed, vol. I. p. 126. Stow, 61. Fabian, 77. Sammes, 63. Camden, Iceni.

† Turner's Anglo Sax. vol. I. p. 175.

‡ M. West. p. 188, says A. D. 527. W. Malmesb. p. 34. A. D. 519. Higden, Polychron. A. D. 224, places Uffa in. A. D. 492.

and,

and, after possessing his newly-acquired dominions upwards of forty years, he died in 578 *. He was succeeded by Titil, whose reign is merged in the thickest obscurity. He is supposed to have died A. D. 592 †. His son Redwald, a prince of excellent endowments and considerable celebrity, inherited the kingdom; and was the first East Anglian sovereign that embraced the Christian Faith.

Christianity had been early planted in Britain ‡; and, extending during three centuries its benign and civilizing influence over most parts of the nation, it almost entirely supplanted the Druidical and Roman superstitions.

But the devastating and intolerant aggression of the Pagan Saxons compelled the Christian Bishops to seek a precarious refuge in the mountains of Wales §; and wherever the Saxon standard was erected, the country was re-plunged into all the miseries of Pagan barbarism. This state of darkness and idolatry continued about 140 years, till the arrival of St. Austin in Britain A. D. 598 ‖. The zealous exertions of this exemplary Missionary and his associates were crowned with very considerable success. Kings, Nobles, and Magistrates renounced the religion of their ancestors; the people in great numbers followed

* Matth. West. 197. Baker, 7. Camden, 157.

† Martin's Thetford, p. 14. Loder's Framlingham, p. 9, 10, 11. Camden, 465. Strutt's Chron. vol. I. p. 152.

‡ Usher, de Brit. Eccles. Prim. Præfat. & Ch. I.

§ Fox, Act. & Mon. p. 98. 104.

‖ Bede, Polychra. lib. 1. c. 8. Fuller's Church History, p. 57.

their

their example; the altars of Woden were deserted; and the Christian faith, by degrees, extended itself into all the Saxon kingdoms; though the ignorance and barbarism of the times blended many absurd opinions and dangerous errors with the new religion, and its progress was frequently impeded by the expiring efforts of an idolatrous superstition.

The influence of his Queen and Pagan neighbours occasioned Redwald to relapse into his former errors *. He died A. D. 624. His son Eorpwald succeeded to his father's dangerous honours; and was basely murdered A. D. 630. The latter part of his reign he professed the Christian religion, having been converted by Edwin king of Northumberland; but the greater part of his subjects continued in the rudest state of idolatry.

The renown of giving Christianity a permanent establishment in East Anglia was reserved for Sigbercht, the half-brother and successor of Eorpwald.

Redwald took for his second Queen a widow, who, on her elevation to the crown, introduced to the East Anglian court Sigbercht, her accomplished son by a former marriage †. The engaging manners and commanding genius of the young prince excited general admiration; and his increasing popularity awakened the jealousy of his father-in-law. To avoid the fatal effects of suspicion, Sigbercht retired to France. During his exile he assiduously

* Martin's Thetford, p. 14. Turner's Ang. Sax. v. I. p. 270. Bede, b. 2. c. 15. Fuller's Church History, p. 73.

† Gardiner's Dunwich, p. 43. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. I. pp. 314. 403.

siduously cultivated the literature of the age, and also became a zealous professor of the Christian Faith.

On the death of Eorpwald the East Anglians recalled Sigbercht, and placed him on the throne. His first care was to reclaim his people from their attachment to the barbarous objects of Northern adoration. On his return from France, he had brought over with him Felix, a learned and pious priest of Burgundy: to him he intrusted the conversion of his subjects; and, for this purpose, constituted him Bishop of East Anglia *. A. D. 630, Honorius archbishop of Canterbury conferred episcopal consecration on Felix †. By the indefatigable labours and preaching of this apostolic prelate, and the judicious assistance of his sovereign, the arduous and important undertaking was happily accomplished; and the King had the gratification of beholding his dominions peopled with Christians.

This benevolent system was acknowledged a second time in almost every part of Britain, though its beneficial effects on the conduct and manners of its votaries do not appear very conspicuous; regard to the externals of Religion was more evident. Many churches were erected; a numerous clergy established; and many monasteries also were founded in various parts of England ‡. The ecclesiastics who inhabited them were a species of *secular priests*, not subjected to the rigid rules of an order, but living in the convents after the manner of the present canons

* W. Malmsb. de Pont. b. 2. 135. Bede, Eccles. Hist. p. 163. Camden, 469.

† Godwin, de Præsul. p. 423. edit. Cantab. Saxon Chron. says A. D. 636; but Godwin appears most probable. Bede, 169. Speed, 310. Heylin, 77. Weever, 868.

‡ Camden, Brit. 137. Hume, History of England,

and

and prebendaries: they were not entirely secluded from the world, made no vows of implicit obedience to superiors, and still retained the choice, without quitting the convent, either of a married or a single life. These establishments were formed by the donations of the Princes and Nobles, whose superstition, derived from their ignorance and precarious life, and increased by remorses for the crimes into which they were so frequently betrayed, knew no other expedient for appeasing the Deity than a profuse liberality to the ecclesiastics.

The power obtained by the clergy from the prevalence of these opinions was much increased by the reputation of their sanctity and learning: in these dark and ignorant ages they were the only persons who made any pretensions to literature; and the little they possessed afforded them a very considerable influence over the minds of the people; which they seldom failed of employing to their own advantage, by increasing the wealth and privileges of their establishments, and inducing men of rank and fortune, and sometimes even Kings, to retire from the world, and spend the latter part of their lives in the seclusion and devotional exercises of the cloister.

The zealous monarch of East Anglia entered with ardour into the spirit of the age. Churches were built, schools established, and monasteries endowed *. To his liberality Bury is indebted for the *germ* of its ecclesiastical eminence and distinction †.

* Caius de Antiq. Cantab. Acad. p. 57. Lond. 1574. Fuller's Church History, p. 74.

† Bede, l. 3. c. 18. Speed, p. 64. Abbey Registers, *passim*. Dugdale, Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 291.

Sigbercht

Sigbercht founded a monastery, and built a church, in the town of *Bedericksworth*, which he dedicated to the honour of the Holy Virgin St. Mary *.

After reigning about seven years, the mistaken piety of the times induced Sigbercht to retire from the avocations of public life into the seclusion of a convent.

Consigning the cares of a crown, and the reins of government, to his kinsman Egric, he received the tonsure, and became a monk in his own monastery at *Bedericksworth*.

The honour of receiving the royal recluse hath been denied to this monastery by some late writers †, who have accidentally mentioned the subject. They state that the King retired to Cnobersburgh Abbey. This is supposed to be a mistake ‡, originating in an opinion that Sigbercht endowed but one monastery, supported by a quotation of Gervasius Dorobernensis § from Bede, which he appears to have made without sufficient accuracy. He quotes "that Sig-"bercht became a monk in the monastery that *Fursæus* had "founded." Capgrave, Alford, Camden, and others, have, without recurring to the original, followed the authority of Gervase. But Bede does not name any place. In the 18th chapter of his third book, he says "that Sigbercht entered the monastery that "*himself* had founded;" and, in the following chapter, we find it said "that Fursæus diligently built a monastery in the place he "had received from King Sigbercht."

* Abbey Registers, *passim*. Bede, l. 3. c. 18. Speed, p. 61. Dugdale, Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 291.

† Capgrave, Camden, Blomefield, Gardiner, Martin, &c.

‡ Batteley, Antiq. S. Edm. Bury, p. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

§ Decem Script. p. 1636.

These two observations, wholly distinct and unconnected, may be presumed to allude to two several monasteries; one at *Bedericksworth*, which Sigbercht himself founded, the other formed under his protection by Fursæus at *Cnobersburgh* *; and the mistake seems to have arisen from connecting or confounding these two sentences of Bede.

But it is not necessary to rest solely on this indirect evidence. To the same effect is the direct testimony of several writers.

Thomas Eliensis, who was contemporary, if not anterior to Gervase, writes, "that Sigbercht entered the monastery he "had founded at *Bedericksworth* †." The authors of the Abbey registers who notice this circumstance always mention it as well known and generally admitted ‡. One of them incidentally gives the time this event happened. "The monastery of Ely was built "by Ethelbert, 30 years before King Sigbercht entered the mo- "nastery he had established at *Bedericksworth*."

Ely was founded A. D. 607 §, it was, therefore, about 637 that Sigbercht abdicated his Crown.

Another states explicitly ‖ that Aldwin built the church of St. Edmund in the same place in which Sigbercht at first founded

* This, no doubt, is the convent described by Bede — "Maris vicinitate amœnum." Notes to Camden.

† *Vita Ethildretæ in Actis Benedict.* v. II. p. 739. *Notitia Monast. Præf.*

‡ Regist. Lakenheath, Reg. Rub. Reg. Sacrist.

§ Batteley, p. 6. note.

‖ Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 291.

a monastery;

a monastery; and in which the same pious King took the monastic habit. To multiply similar quotations from other registers is unnecessary; it may, however, be proper to notice a collateral circumstance.

King Sigbercht's Royal Palace was at Dunwich *; and a peculiar way, called the King's Road, leading from this City to Bury, is often mentioned in ancient deeds. This road is supposed to have been formed by Sigbercht when he erected the elder church at *Bedericksworth*; and seems to prove a peculiar communication and connection subsisted between the two towns.

The distinguishing marks of Sigbercht's favour and protection contributed to the subsequent conventual celebrity of Bury; while, as an eminent Antiquary observes, "the monastery of *Cnobersburg* (now Burgh Castle), built by Fursæus under King Sigbercht, probably dwindled away in a few years, as it is little mentioned afterwards †."

The obscurities and contradictions of the historians who narrate the events of these remote and turbulent ages, render it impossible to speak of them with absolute precision, but, from an attentive comparison, it seems probable to conclude that the monastery of Bury, which, in after-ages, obtained so much distinction, received its first establishment from King Sigbercht; and that, about A. D. 637, he resigned the ensigns of royalty ‡, and, taking the sacred

* Gardiner's Dunwich, p. 39. Baker's Chron. p. 8.

† Grose, Antiq. vol. VI. p. 61. Mentioned also by Speed.

‡ Weever, p. 767. Holinshed, vol. I. p. 172. Ed. 1577.

habit in his own convent, devoted himself to a life of seclusion and religious exercises.

The unfortunate monarch did not long enjoy his retirement; he could not fly from the troubles and dangers of the regal state.

Penda, an intrepid, sanguinary pagan tyrant, who at an advanced age obtained the crown of Mercia, and had during twenty years been the terror and scourge of the Anglo Saxon Princes, turned his hostile arms against East Anglia *.

The terrified inhabitants compelled their favourite leader to quit his devotion and retreat. Sigbercht joined the army of his former subjects, and endeavoured to stem the formidable torrent. The attempt was unsuccessful, and both Sigbercht† and Egric were slain A. D. 644 ‡.

* Turner's Ang. Sax. vol. I. p. 280.

† Upon re-building the abbey-church of St. Peter, Westminster, by King Henry III. the sepulchre of Sebert, King of the East Angles, was opened; and therein was found part of his royal robes, and his thumb-ring, in which was set a ruby of great value. Archæologia Soc. Ant. Lond. vol. III. p. 390.

By some antiquaries this is supposed to relate to Sigbert King of East Anglia; but others are of opinion that it was the sepulchre of some other monarch, of a name nearly similar.

‡ Batteley, p. 7. Speed, Chron. p. 310. Stowe, Chron. p. 73. Gardiner's Dunwich, p. 5.

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The government of East Anglia now devolved upon Anna, a wise and valiant prince, the nephew of Redwald *. He supported an unequal contest for ten years with Penda, and bravely fell, with Firminus his son, in a severe battle fought at Bull Champ near Dunwich A. D. 655 †. The two princes were both interred at Blithbury, but were afterwards removed to the Abbey church in Bury.

Ethelred, the unnatural brother of Anna, having assisted Penda, was by that monarch placed on the throne ‡. And East Anglia continued to be governed by a succession of its own Princes till Offa, King of Mercia, A. D. 792 or 793, basely assassinated Ethelbert, and seised upon his kingdom §. This amiable and unfortunate Prince was canonized by the piety of the age; and the author of one of the abbey registers quotes, from the life of St. Ethelbert, that miracles were "performed in the city which "formerly the East Anglians called *Bedericksworth*. For it pleased "Almighty God to adorn with the miracles of St. Ethelbert "the place prepared for his kinsman, the celebrated King and "martyr St. Edmund ‖."

* J. Brompton, X Script. p. 748. Lond. 1652.

† Cooper, Chron. p. 162. Weever, 760. Gardiner's Dunwich, p. 124 and 185. Speed, Chron. p. 310.

‡ Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. I. p. 385.

§ Turner, Anglo-Sax. vol. I. p. 337.

‖ Batteley, p. 10. Regist. Rub. A.

On the death of Ethelbert, East Anglia, invaded by Mercia, was ravaged by contending armies *, and became a scene of much bloodshed and devastation †. After many years of turbulent confusion, both realms submitted to the preponderance of the West Saxon monarchy A. D. 828. Egbert did not incorporate East Anglia with his own dominions ‡, but permitted it to remain as a distinct and tributary state, under its own sovereigns, the last of whom was Edmund, who, after his death, was dignified with the titles of Royal Saint and Holy Martyr; and whose name makes so conspicuousa figure in the annals of Bury.

* W. Malmsb. p. 23. London, 1596. J. Brompton, Chron. p. 754. Turner's Anglo Sax. vol. I. p. 362.

† Raleigh says, that East Anglia was ravaged by the Mercians and West Saxons 77 years. If Ethelbert was murdered A. D. 793, and 77 be added, it gives 870, the year King Edmund suffered martyrdom. These 77 years, therefore, include the Princes who reigned in East Anglia under the power and protection of Egbert and his successors. Offa, who preceded Edmund, is not to be confounded with Offa King of the Mercians, nor with Offa King of the East Saxons. He was the last of those Kings who reigned for the space of 61 years before St. Edmund.

‡ Turner's Ang. Sax. vol. I. 367. note.

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

LIFE OF ST. EDMUND.

Confusion of the Age — Credulity — Miraculous Appendages — why retained — Historians — Abbo Floriacensis — Registers — Lydgate — Alkmund and Siware — Prodigy at Rome — Edmund born — Offa — Pilgrimage — Death — Edmund arrives in East Anglia — Consecrated — Bury and Bures — Danish Invasion — Battles — Edmund retreats — Parley — Cruel Death — Miracles — Head — Wolf — Sculpture and Paintings — Second Plate — Hoxne.

THE destructive and sanguinary invasion of a ferocious Pagan enemy, whose persevering and successful hostilities were uniformly marked with the cruelest ravages and most ruinous devastation, has spread a melancholy gloom over the age of St. Edmund, and involved the transactions of his life in almost impenetrable obscurity.

When the horrors of a desolating contest were in some degree subsided, the pen of history resumed its office; but, in the hand of credulous supersition and interested bigotry, has thrown a motley grotesque disguise of marvellous and miraculous incident over those

those few of the most prominent facts it has rescued from oblivion. Through such a medium events necessarily appear confused and indistinct. An attempt to divest truth of this garb of fiction may, in some instances, prove successful; but in many others must be hopeless.

In retracing the circumstances of St. Edmund's life, some speculative conjecture might be employed upon the feeble efforts of infant literature and mistaken piety; but it may, perhaps, be thought more consonant to the present purpose, not to divest the narrative of its *miraculous appendages:* retaining them will not now be supposed to insult the common sense of an age enlightened by the accumulated learning and experience of ten additional centuries*. They may be useful in unfolding the genius and manners of our remote ancestors; as in many cases, and particularly that before us, they formed the great stimulus to action: the admiration and the dread of miraculous power awakened the exertions of the indolent, restrained the violence of the enterprising, and were the operative causes of many considerable changes in the circumstances both of individuals and communities: and a reference to these miraculous appendages of the history of St. Edmund are absolutely necessary to the illustration of many devices and points of subsequent monastic antiquity, as they seem to have constituted favourite subjects of allusion to the writers and artists who supposed themselves under the patronage and protection of the Saint.

The annalists and general historians of that period have recorded very little respecting St. Edmund.

* Turner's Anglo Saxons, vol. II.

His

His first biographer appears to have been the Abbot * of Fleury, or St. Bennet, on the Loire, generally called *Abbo Floriacensis*; a man highly esteemed for his exemplary piety and extensive learning †. Coming about A. D. 985 on a visit to St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, he undertook to write the life of St. Edmund from the recital of St. Dunstan, who, in his youth, had heard the circumstances of it detailed by a very aged man that had been an officer under St. Edmund, and related the history to King Ethelstan ‡. This King died A. D. 940; of course, St. Dunstan's narrative must rest on a recollection of about 50 years, and St. Edmund's officer must indeed have been a very old man, as his recital would be 65 years after St. Edmund's death §. But, however defective the early writers might be in accurate information, the genius and manners of the age afforded an ample supply of celestial machinery.

* Collier's Dictionary, v. *Abbo*. Nicolson's Historical Library, p. 104.

† The monks under Abbo were considerably learned. Aimsin, or Haymo, one of them, wrote the History of France, and dedicated it to Abbo. He also wrote the Life of Abbo, who was by some villains murdered 13 Nov. 1004. Abbo was a considerable author; but the work by which he is most known is that here quoted. MSS. Bibl. Cot. Tib. B. 2. Vita & Passio S. Ed. per Abbonem Floriacensem Monachum.

This little work is very curious, and a very creditable specimen of the literature of the age, if we can suppose many churchmen as well acquainted with the Classic Poets as his numerous quotations prove Abbo to have been.

This work is printed in the Acta Sanctorum, Cologne, Ed. A. D. 1575. v. I. p. 465. 472.

‡ Catalogue Harleian Lib. No. 2278. Collection of Saxon MSS. p. 190. Col. 1. Cott. MS.

§ An extract in Collect. Buriens. quotes that Abbo wrote St. Edmund's life in the 7th year of Etheldred.

The circumstances of St. Edmund's life, previously to his obtaining the crown of East Anglia, are recorded by Galfridus de Fontibus, in a little work, De Pueritiâ Sancti Edmundi; supposed to have been written about A. D. 1150 *.

All the monastic histories appear to rely with implicit confidence on the relations of Abbo and Galfridus. The accounts of St. Edmund in their registers are nearly similar; in some instances a little amplified; and, in others, somewhat condensed, according to the taste of the writer.

Like many of the heroes of ancient story, the birth of Edmund is ushered into notice by a prophetic prodigy. Alkmund, a Saxon Prince of distinguished valour, wisdom, and piety, being upon a pilgrimage at Rome, while performing his devotions, a brilliant sun was observed to display its glories on his breast. A prophetess interprets this to be a happy omen, and promises Alkmund a son, whose fame should extend over the whole world. Alkmund returns home; and that very year his Queen Siware makes him a joyful father. Edmund is born in *Nozenberghes* A. D. 841 †.

The slight and obscure manner in which the parents of Edmund are mentioned has given rise to contradictory accounts respecting his ancestry.

* MS. Galfridus de Fontibus. Public Lib. Cam. F. f. 1. 27.

† Lydgate, MSS. Bibl. Harl. No. 2278.

Abbo

Abbo Floriacensis *, and *Asserius Menevensis*, using the same words, say that Edmund sprung from royal ancestors and a noble family of ancient Saxons.

A few writers, ancient † and modern ‡, have expressed some hesitation respecting his descent from Alkmund, or even of there having at that period existed a King in Saxony of that name. Others, with the Registers § and Lydgate, have not noticed any doubts upon the subject, but state explicitly that the names of Edmund's parents were Alkmund and Siware; and that he drew his first breath in Norembergh, his father's metropolis.

About this time Offa, a relation of Alkmund, wielded the sceptre of *East Anglia*; and, having no child to inherit his dignities, he resolves upon a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and there, by devotional exercises, to supplicate the blessing of an heir ‖.

In his way to the Holy Land, he visits his kinsman Alkmund, and is by him entertained with the warmth of affection and the splendour of royalty. The pleasing manners and estimable qualities of the youthful Edmund engaged the heart of Offa. On

* "Edmundus ex antiquorum Saxon nobili prosapiâ oriendus;" and soon after, "Qui atavis regibus edictus."

† Asser Menevensis, Annal. a Galeo editis 1691; & vita Elfridi Franc. 1603, &c.

‡ Batteley, p. 15, 16, 17, &c.

§ Regist. Curteys. 202. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. I. p. 341.

‖ Lydgate. It is observable that this story of Offa is not mentioned by Abbo Floriacensis, although stated or alluded to by all the monastic writers.

his departure he presented to the young Prince a valuable ring, saying to him, "Accept, my dearest Edmund, this pledge of my re-"gard, and memorial of an unalterable attachment, the result of "your assiduous attentions. With pleasure I acknowledge your "kindness, and, by the providence of God, it shall not want a pro-"per reward." The King proceeded on his journey, and having arrived at Jerusalem, paid his vows, and performed those religious exercises which were the objects of his pilgrimage. On his return, he was taken ill at a place called St. George's Arm *, or Port St. George †; and, apprehending his dissolution near, convokes his council to deliberate on the succession to the kingdom. He addresses the assembly: "My relation, the King of Saxony's son, is "not unknown to you: this accomplished and elegant Prince I "earnestly recommend as my successor, and your future sove-"reign;" and resigns to them his royal signet, to be delivered to Edmund as a token of his appointment ‡.

After the funeral solemnities of Offa were eclebrated, his nobles hastened to Saxony, delivered the royal mandate, and intreated Edmund to accept the vacant crown.

Alkmund convenes his Bishops and Nobles, and declares the purpose of the embassy. They unanimously recommend his concurrence. He then appoints a nobleman of distinguished wisdom and integrity to be his son's guardian and counsellor, and selects twenty of his own knights, and the same number of Offa's East Anglian nobles, to undertake the conduct and management of the affair. Every necessary arrangement being speedily formed, the

* Galfridus de Fontibus.

† Lydgate.

‡ Lydgate.

young

young Prince, amidst the tears and blessings of Alkmund and Siware, takes leave, and sails for East Anglia. As soon as he reached the shore of his new dominions he kneels on the sands, in grateful praise to Heaven for past mercies, and devout prayer for future protection *.

Five † springs of sweet water immediately flowed from the dry and sandy soil upon which the royal stranger knelt; in commemoration of which he afterwards built, upon the same spot, the town named, from this circumstance, *Hunstanton*.

Edmund did not assume the royal dignities immediately on his arrival, but spent the following year in studious retirement in the ancient city of Attleborough ‡.

It might now be expected, that under such circumstances his counsellors should direct his young mind to anticipate the cares of royalty; to examine the laws of the state he was about to govern; and to make himself acquainted with thc customs, manners, and interests of the people whose happiness was shortly to be intrusted to him. The genius of the age gave a very different complexion to Edmund's studies. He employed the twelve months of seclusion in committing to memory the Psalter §. The book ‖ he

* Lydgate.

† Galfridus says *twelve*.

‡ Regist. Curtys. f. 211. Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. I. p. 341 and 387.

§ Galfridus de Fontibus. Batteley, p. 14.

‖ Lives of Saints, &c.

was

was supposed to have used upon this occason was said afterwards to have been preserved in Bury abbey with religious veneration *.

During Edward's retirement, a report unfavourable to his pretensions obtained considerable ground in East Anglia; and popular dissatisfaction began to discover itself. An assembly of the people was therefore convoked, and the question of appointing a sovereign was discussed in a solemn manner. Humbert, the bishop of Hulm, supported by the nobles, reminded the assembly, that the peace and harmony of the realm required that Edmund should take the crown; that his accomplishments and virtue were worthy of this dignity; that he was the son of the Saxon King, and the near relation of their own deceased monarch, who, with his dying breath, nominated Edmund his successor. He then produced the royal signet †, and called as witnesses the twenty East Anglian knights. On these grounds he demanded their assent and concurrence to the succession of Edmund. The eloquence of the venerable prelate was completely successful; the assembly unanimously confirmed Offa's appointment, and conferred the kingdom on the young Saxon Prince. The nobles, attended by a concourse of the joyful people, immediately conducted him into Suffolk, and invested him with the insignia of sovereignty.

To ascertain with precision the place of his coronation is a task of no small difficulty: Asserius says this solemnity was per-

* A very curious ancient Psalter, still to be seen in the library of St. James's church, is thought by some Antiquaries to be this very book. Speed, p. 64.

† Lydgate.

formed

formed in the "royal town called *Burua*." J. Brompton and others term it *Bury*. Camden thinks it might have been at *Burne*, in Lincolnshire. Matthew of Westminster says he received consecration in the "royal town called *Bures*;" and this Galfridus de Fontibus appears to confirm: he says, "Edmund was consecrated "and anointed King at *Burum*, a royal town, the boundary of "Essex and Suffolk, situated upon the Sture, a river flowing most "rapidly both in summer and winter *." But, if we consider the very uncertain and variable state of orthography in the early writers, which appears particularly in proper names, we may, notwithstanding the minute local description of Galfridus, suppose him to have been led into mistake by the similarity of name. In the village now called *Bures* we find no vestiges of a royal town; nor are any such traces apparent in history. All the writers who mention the place of Edmund's coronation term it "a royal town." This description seems much less applicable to *Bures* than to *Bury*, which had long been thus distinguished; and it seems probable that this splendid ceremony would be performed in a town that had previously held a rank of eminence in the kingdom.

If Lydgate's authority be allowed to be decisive, it fully establishes this opinion. He says, the solemnity of Edmund's coronation took place at *Bury*; and it is observable, that he sometimes spells it *Bures*, and at others *Burys*. This ambiguity and uncertainty has most probably arisen from the circumstance of the several historians, who mention the coronation of Edmund, not writing till the town had been long called *Bury*; had they used the name *Bedericksworth*, by which it was called in Edmund's life, no such doubt could have existed. The monastic writers appear

* Batteley, p. 14, 15. Vita Ælfredi, &c.

to

to mean Bury, although their orthography sometimes varies; but that they had any sufficient authority for their statement is not so evident.

Whatever may be thought respecting the place, the time of performing this ceremony is more distinctly stated *. "The most "glorious King Edmund began his reign the 25th Dec. A. D. 855, "and was crowned and anointed King of East Anglia by Humbert, "Bishop of Hulm, on the following Christmas day, A. D. 856; "having then completed the 15th year of his age."

Having seated Edmund on the throne of East Anglia, his biographers † and historians proceed, in a strain of panegyric, to extol the excellence of his government, and the virtuous conduct of his life. Piety, candour, gentleness, and humility, form the distinguishing features of his character. He is styled the enemy of flatterers; the protector of the widow and orphan; the father of his people; and a model for all Princes — "notable excellence; of the church "preved perfection; judges provydence; of knighthode the martial "high renown; merchaunts high discretion; the hert of Hercules; "supported by the plough and labour; in his giftes there was no "skarsete ‡."

* Asser, An. & Vit. Ælfridæ, edit. Gale, 1691, p. 126. Batteley, p. 13. Leland, Itinerary. vol. VI. p. 245. 247.

† Abbo. Registers. Lydgate. Asser, An. Brit. Gale. M. Casenewe. Lives of Saints, Fathers, Martyrs, &c. &c.

‡ Lydgate.

The

The whole catalogue of virtues is exhausted in pourtraying the perfections of his mind.

This profusion of encomium, however, is not substantiated by evidence; no fact is stated to illustrate and establish it. We do not find recorded any instance of exertion to promote the safety and confirm the happiness of the people; to protect and support the liberties of the kingdom; to encourage arts; extend commerce, and animate industry; to enrich his dominions by internal improvements, and afford them protection by a wise and energetic attention to their exterior relations.

The disastrous times in which Edmund lived required the judicious precaution of a provident intellect, and the bold and vigorous efforts of an active courage. The feeble virtues of the young King were unequal to the contest, and the torrent of sanguinary aggression overwhelmed him in the earliest stage of its progress.

The origin and commencement of his misfortunes are compleatly obscured by legendary fable. They appear to be connected with the history of the celebrated northern warrior, Ragnar Lodbrog. This history has lately been examined with laborious and judicious attention by a learned writer *; and the result of his researches consigns to the class of fiction, the narrative of the monkish historians of Bury respecting the cause of the Danish invasion.

* Turner's Anglo Saxons, vol. II. chap. VIII. p. 107.

Lydgate following almost all the preceding monkish writers of Bury, and many of the general historians *, relates the often-told story of Lothbroc, which Turner decidedly considers as a fabulous misrepresentation of some part of the history of Ragnar Lodbroc. He states †, that the fame of Edmund's good government extended far and wide, and reached Denmark; whose King "Lothbrocus" excites the jealousy of his two sons "Hyngwar and Ubba," by reciting to them the success and fame of Edmund; they vow vengeance, and resolve to render themselves equally famous, by an attack on Edmund's newly-acquired dominions. A plausible pretext soon presents itself. Lothbroc, hawking on the sea shore, observes his favourite hawk fall into the sea; gets into a boat to rescue his bird, is driven out to sea and cast on shore in Norfolk; by the inhabitants of the country he is presented with his hawk to King Edmund, who kindly and liberally entertains him; requests him to make some stay at his court, and assigns his own falconer, Bern, as a companion to the Danish monarch. The skill and success of the royal visitant, in his favourite diversion of hawking, excites the admiration of Edmund, and fills Bern with jealousy and envy. He seizes an opportunity, when they were together in the woods; murders him, and conceals the body.

Lothbroc's absence during three days occasions much alarm; his favourite greyhound is observed to come home for food; and, after much fawning, and remarkable notice of the King and nobles, leaves the court. On the fourth day he is followed, and con-

* Speed, 388. Spelman de Icen. 156. Fox, Acts and Mon. 103 and 120. Martin's Thetford, 18, &c. From the old Annalists and Historians.

† Lydgate, p. 39, 40, 41, 42, &c. &c. Regist. Curteys, &c. &c. Batteley, p. 121.

ducts.

ducts them to the murdered body. Edmund institutes an examination, and the dog, by his ferocity to Bern, points him out as the murderer. Edmund commands him to be committed to the waves, alone and without oar, sail, mast, or any naval instrument, in the same boat that had brought Lothbroc to East Anglia. The winds drive him to the shores of Denmark. The Danes recollect the boat, and earnestly enquire for their sovereign. Bern answers, that Lothbroc, having been cast on the coasts of East Anglia, had been murdered by order of King Edmund.

The sons determine on immediate vengeance, and, with an army of 20,000 men, Ingwar and Ubba, conducted by Bern, and attended by Ralfdene, Oskitel, Bagseg, Hosten, Eowils, Hamund, and Guthrum, set sail for East Anglia.

Though this cause of the attack, as stated by the Bury writers, should be deemed fabulous *, the sanguinary and destructive consequences of the invasion cannot be doubted.

Some accounts mention, that the hostile armament arrived in East Anglia A. D. 865, and wintered at Thetford; and after providing themselves with horses, either by force or treaty, marched northward, every where marking their track by plunder and desolation.

* Extract of a letter from Sharon Turner, Esq.

" The story of Lothbroc alludes to Ragnar Lodbrog, and you will see in my 23d " note, p. 117, vol. II. that I consider the two accounts of the mode of his death in " our Chronicles to be as fabulous as contradictory. Our Writers have much mis- " taken Lodbrog's History; indeed, they are almost wholly unacquainted with it, " from their inattention to Northern Literature."

Other historians * state, that their plan of an immediate attack on East Anglia was disconcerted by adverse winds; and that, contrary to their intention, they were driven on the coast of Scotland; landed near Berwick upon Tweed; and commenced their work of death by burning the towns and monasteries, and murdering all that fell within their power, without regard to age, sex, or character. The following spring, they betook themselves again to their ships, and steering along the coast ravaged all the country adjoining. Arriving in East Anglia, they were encountered by Edmund with various success; but the confusion of dates and facts is so great, that it is impossible to trace any connected chain of events.

The registers say, that Edmund daily slew many of the Danes; and give some instances of his successful stratagems, but without stating their authorities †. Having been long and closely besieged in one of his camps, and his provisions failing, Edmund, to deceive the enemy, ordered some corn to be thrown to them; and a bull, well fed with fresh corn, to be driven without the lines. This being immediately seized and slaughtered by the Pagans, who, finding its stomach filled with fresh corn, concluded that the besieged were in no want of provisions, since they fed their cattle in that manner, they therefore raised the siege, and, being pursued by the Royal Saint, suffered some loss.

On another occasion, the Pagans having surrounded Edmund in one of his fortresses, found it so strongly fortified that they determined to retreat; but an old blind mason, one of the King's

* Asserii Annal. An. 860. Matth. West, 876. Speed, 64. Brady, Hist. 113. Polydore Vergil, f. 70. Sax. Chron. An. 866. Martin's Thetford, 19.

† Registers, *passim*. Lydgate. Batteley, p. 121.

pensioners,

pensioners, and who had superintended the construction of the works, seduced by a bribe, discovered to the enemy the weakest part of the wall. The King, finding their machines likely to force the place, mounted on a swift horse, rushed out at the gate; being pursued by the Pagans, they enquired of him where the King was; he answered, "Return quickly, because when I was in the "fort the King was there." Hearing this they immediately returned to search the fort for the King; but not finding him, it then first occurred to them that it was the King himself who spoke to them; and fearing his return with an army, immediately retreated. Edmund, having collected his forces, pursued them; after many conflicts, and much exertion of the Saint and his army, the Pagans were compelled to leave that country, but were still able to march into Yorkshire and Northumberland in the third year from their first attack.

Whatever credit these relations may obtain, it is very evident that about A. D. 869 * the destructive torrent proceeded from Yorkshire in a southern direction, overwhelming in its progress every vestige of civilization. The monasteries of Croyland, Thorney, Peterborough, Ramsey, Soham, and Ely, were successively plundered and burnt, and their inhabitants subjected to every possible indignity, and then murdered. During the year 870, it appears to have reached East Anglia; and Ingwar gained possession of Thetford, then King Edmund's capital. Edmund collected his forces, and marched to oppose the invaders. The hostile armies met near Thetford; and after an engagement, maintained during

* R. Hoveden, 235. W. Malmsb. 49. 139. H. Hunt. 200. Weever, 274. Spelman de Icen. 159. Turner. Martin's Thetford. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. I. p. 195. Batteley, 123.

the

the whole day with the utmost vigour and determined courage, and with a great slaughter on both sides, victory remained undecided *. During the night, Edmund (in the language of the monkish writers) reflecting not only on the immense loss of his own brave soldiers fallen in the defence of the country and the Christian faith, and who he doubted not had obtained a crown of martyrdom; but also on the death of so many Pagans, who dying unconverted, he considered as doomed to endless misery, retired to Eglesdene.

An embassy from Ingwar, who was shortly after the battle joined by his brother Ubba, with ten thousand fresh troops, soon followed Edmund; and the speeches supposed to have passed upon this occasion are given by Abbo † in a style of oratorical declamation, interspersed with quotations from the Classic Poets. King Edmund, attended by Bishop Humbert and his council, received the Danish messenger, who thus delivered his master's proposals:

"Our Lord formidable on sea and land, King Hinguar, most "invincible, by conquest subjecting to himself many countries, with "a numerous fleet, has landed on the shore of this province, in- "tending here to pass the winter, and therefore demands that you "divide with him your treasures and paternal dominions. If you "despise his power, supported as it is by innumerable legions, you "will be deemed unworthy of either kingdom or life. And who "art thou, that thou should'st dare insolently to speak against such

* Near Rushforth, Easton, Barnham, and Thetford, are ten or eleven Tumuli; where most probably was fought that dreadful battle between King Edmund and the Danes. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. I. p. 195.

† Abbo Flori. MS. Bibl. Cott. Tiberius, B. 2.

"power?

" power? Protected by the favouring elements, the tempests of the " ocean assist our oars, and retard not the designs of those, over " whom the tremendous thunderings of Heaven, and the rapid blasts " of lightning, pass without injury. Submit, therefore, to this " potent commander, on whom the elements attend, and who, in all " cases, determines to favour the obedient, and vanquish the pre- " sumptuous *."

Bishop Humbert, anxious to preserve the life of the King, earnestly recommends immediate compliance with this imperious demand.

Edmund with downcast eyes was long silent; † but at length declared that he should die with pleasure, if his death would restore to its former peace his desolated beloved country.

The Bishop states, that the country is already covered with slain, and without means of defence; and, therefore, urges his beloved monarch to avoid the impending punishment.

The King perseveres, and again declares his wish to die for his subjects. Flight would tarnish his former glory. Could he now sustain the disgrace of deserting his brethren in arms? It is honourable to die for our country ‡. He had devoted his life to

* " Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos."
VIRG. lib. vi.

This quotation, given by Abbo, in the express words of Virgil, closes the address of Hinguar's ambassador.

† " Sic demum ora resolvit."

‡ " Pro patria mori."

Christ,

Christ, and would not now begin to serve two masters. Then addresses the ambassador:

"Polluted with the blood of my subjects, you deserve death; "but, following the example of Christ, I am unwilling to defile my "hands; and, for his name, am prepared to submit to fire and darts: "hasten therefore to compleat your injurious purpose, and bear to "your master this answer.

"A true son, you imitate your father the devil, who, swollen "with pride, fell from heaven, and desiring to involve mankind "in his own falsehood has subjected many to his own punishment.

"You, his chief follower, shall neither intimidate me with threats, "nor decoy me with flattering allurements. You will find me unarmed, restrained by the faith of Christ. The treasure bestowed "on us by Providence your avidity may seize and consume. This "frail carcase you may break as an earthern vessel, but the freedom "of the mind you can never for a moment constrain. To assert "immortal liberty, if not with arms, at least with life, is more "honourable, than with weeping complaints to seek it when lost. "For me, to die is glory — to live contumacious bondage. Never "for the love of temporal life will I submit to a Pagan leader; "preferring rather to be a standard-bearer in the pavilions of the "King Eternal *."

* The substance of these speeches, and evidently founded on the oratory of Abbo, may be found in some of the Registers; in Lydgate's poetical work; in Mons. Casenewe's Life of St. Edmund; and other legendic writers.

Hinguar

Inguar and Ubba, incensed at this answer to their embassy, march to Eglesdene; and Edmund surrenders to their superior force without further contest; and still refusing to comply with the conqueror's terms, is bound to a tree, and beaten with "short bats *." They then wantonly made him a mark to exercise the skill of their archers †, and his body was covered with arrows like a porcupine with quills. Inguar, still finding his mind invincible, ordered his head to be struck off. "And thus he deied, "Kyng, Martyr, and Virgyne ‡," on the 20th Nov. A. D. 870, in the 15th year of his reign, and the 29th of his age. His faithful friend, Bishop Humbert, suffered at the same time with his royal master.

The Danes were now masters of East Anglia, and ravaged the country uncontroled during the winter. Upon the approach of spring, they marched into Mercia, and other parts of the country

* Lydgate.

† The Anglo Saxons and the Danes were certainly well acquainted with the use of the bow; a knowledge they derived at an early period from their progenitors. The Scandinavian Scalds, speaking in praise of the heroes of their country, frequently add to the rest of their acquirements a superiority of skill in handling the bow **. It does not, however, appear, that this skill was extended beyond the purpose of procuring food, or for pastime, either by the Saxons or by the Danes, in times anterior to the Conquest ††.

** Olaii Worm. Lit. Run. p. 129. Barthel. p. 420. Pontoppidan's History of Norway, p. 248.

†† It is indeed said, that Edmund King of the East Anglians was shot to death with arrows by the Danes; but, if this piece of history be correct, it is no proof that they uſed the bow as a weapon of war. The action itself might be nothing more than a wanton piece of cruelty; and cruelty ſeems to have been a prominent feature in the character of thoſe lawleſs plunderers.
See Strutt's Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, p. 89.

‡ Lydgate.

that afforded more plunder to gratify their rapacity; but maintained the supreme authority in East Anglia, and soon after established themselves there under Godrum, or Gothrem, who, in A. D. 878, entered into a treaty with King Alfred, and embraced Christianity: this Danish Prince, on his decease, was interred at Hadleigh in Suffolk *.

The circumstances relating to St. Edmund †, which took place on the retreat of the Danes, and which have formed a favourite theme for the monkish writers, and a favourite subject for their painters and sculptors, are given with miraculous embellishments by Abbo; and, from his account, transcribed, with various degrees of amplification, by most of the subsequent monastic poets and historians.

To offer the utmost indignity to the martyred King, the Pagans cast his severed head and body into the thickest part of the woods of Eglesdene. When the departure of the Danes removed the terror their presence inspired, the East Anglians, prompted by affection for their late sovereign, assembled, in considerable numders, to pay his corpse the last duties of attachment. After a sorrowful search, the body is discovered, conveyed to the neighbouring village, Hoxne, and there interred; but the head could not be found. The zealous and dutiful subjects therefore divide themselves into small parties, and search every part of the wood. Terrified by the thickness and obscurity of the wood, some of them cry out to their companions—"Where are you?" A voice answers,

* Morant, Essex, vol. I. 43 and 44.

† Edwold the brother of King Edmund, unable to stem the torrent of misfortune, renounced the world, and sought repose in the seclusion of an hermitage belonging to the Abbey of Cerne in Dorsetshire. Blomefield, vol. I. p. 390.

"Here,

"Here, here, here!" They hasten to the place whence the sound proceeded, and find the long sought head in a thicket of thorns, guarded by a wolf—"an unkouth thyng and strange ageyn nature*." The people, almost overpowered with joy, with all possible veneration, take the holy head, which its guardian quietly surrenders to them, and carry it to the body. The friendly wolf joined in the procession; and, after seeing the "precious treasure," that he had with so much care protected, deposited with the body whence it had been severed, with doleful mourning, and without shewing any fierceness, returned into the woods.

This was about 40 days after the martyrdom of the Saint.

The head was some time after observed to have united with the body; and the mark of separation appeared round the neck like a "purpil thread."

From the very numerous instances that might be collected, a few are here given as an illustration of the manner in which the artists of succeeding ages have made this circumstance a designation of St. Edmund's History.

The centre of the first Plate is a sculpture of this story upon a large stone that formerly decorated some of the monastic buildings, and is still preserved in the Abbey Garden.

The compartment at the top of the second Plate is taken from an ancient sculpture under a window in the building formerly the Jews Synagogue on the Market Hill.

* Lydgate.

The centre of this plate is a representation of St. Edmund's head, copied from a pane of painted glass that was taken from a window of the Abbots Palace. Lydgate terms St. Edmund "a "most comely" man. Joscelyn de Brokeland states, that Abbot Sampson made a new shrine for St. Edmund, A. D. 1198; and had his head in his hands, "& proceedens tetigit occulos & nasum "valde gressum & valde eminentem."

The lower compartment of the same plate is taken from Lydgate's curious illuminated MS Poetic History of the Life of St. Edmund, presented by him to Henry VI.

The Conventual Seal of the Monastery (see the Plate of Seals *) was formed also from this legend, given in a more detailed form.

The present arms of the town commemorate the same part of the history.

In the church at Tewkesbury †, behind the high altar, was the chapel of St. Edmund, known by the legend of him described in fret work on the top of the chapel: his being shot with arrows, beheaded, and a wolf defending his head from other beasts.

* The Friars of the order of the Sac, at Norwich, had for their seal, St. Edmund, with his crown on, tied to a tree, naked, and his body full of arrows.
The inscription:

Sigillum Prioris Fratrum de Penitentiâ
Jhesu Christi de Norwico.

Blomefield, vol. II. p. 897.

It is necessary to observe this, as the similarity to Bury Seal might, in some instances, occasion mistakes.

† Dyke's History of Tewkesbury, p. 25.

Whether

Whether King Edmund, as some few writers suppose *, lost his life, valiantly defending his country on the plains of Thetford; or, according to far the greater number, was basely murdered in the woods of Eglesdene; his body appears to have been interred in an obscure wooden chapel † in a village now called Hoxne,

* R. Hoveden, A. D. 870. Asser, in vitâ Ælfridæ; and some following them.

† This chapel was, in process of time, converted into a cell, or priory, inhabited by seven or eight Monks, governed by a Prior, nominated and removeable by the Prior of Norwich, and called the Cell and Chapel of the blessed St. Edmund, king and martyr.

A. D. 1226, Thomas de Blumville, Bishop of Norwich, confirmed all revenues to God and the Chapel of St. Edmund at Hoxne. At the dissolution this cell had revenues worth about 40*l. per annum*. Blomefield's Norfolk, vol. II. p. 437.

Lydgate, after the life of St. Edmund, gives also that of "St. Fremond thyn owyn cosyn dere;" a condensed extract from which is here given.

He says it is most wonderful, and fears his powers are not equal to the work he has undertaken.

A child, three days old, foretells St. Fremond's birth, name, and miracles, is baptised, and dies. The night Fremond was born, a rainbow appears over the palace. To kyng Offa Fremond was son and heir, reigning in Mershloud. His mother Botild, sister to St. Edmund, long barren, but at length bears Fremond; he is baptised by Bishop Oswy, and converts his father and mother; they resign the crown to him. A year after his coronation he turns hermit, goes to Carleon, lives seven years in a wilderness, during which his clothes grew not old. In the seventh year the Danes oppress Edmund, his brother-in-law. He sends to search for Fremond. An angel orders him to return.

Inguar offers him the same terms as Edmund. Fremond and twenty-four Knyghts kill forty thousand by miracle, "beside Radforde." Oswy, his Knyght, cuts off his head. Struck with compunction, he prays for mercy; the *head* answers him he is accepted. The body takes up the head, and walks between Whittone and Harborough; takes up his sword, and strikes the ground; a well springs, and washes away the blood; then expires, is buried at Offcherche in Warwickshyre; works more miracles, and is translated to Dunstable.

Elfride

where some traditionary vestiges of his history are still to be observed.

Elfride had a kosyn, that kyng was of scheld,
Northfolk and Southfolk of Elfride he held.
That was Saynt Edmunde the croune that tyme bare,
A duke of Danmark, his name was Inguare.
Ubbe, an erle of Huneis, with that Inguar kam,
Uppon Saynt Edmunde Northfolk he nam.
Edmunde sent his messengers of pes tham besouht,
Inguar sent bode ageyn that pes will be nouht.
Bot if he gald him the lond than he suld haf pes,
That wild not Saynt Edmunde, the bataile he ches.
He attired him to bataile with folk that he had,
But this cursed Danes so grete oste ay lad,
That Edmunde was taken and slayn at the last,
Full far fro the body lay was the hede kast.
The body son they fonde, the hede was in doute,
Up and downe in the felde thei souht it aboute.
To haf knowing thereof, alle thei were in were,
Till the hede himself said, Here, here, here!
Ther thei fonde the hede is now a faire chapelle,
Oxen hate the toun ther the body felle.
Ther where he was schotte another chapelle standes,
And somwhat of that tree thei bond untille his hands,
The tone is fro the tother moten a grete myle,
So far bare a woulfe the hede and kept it a grete while,
Unto the hede said "Here," als I befor said,
Fro the woulfe thei it toke, unto the body it laid,
Men sais ther he ligges the flesch samen gede,
But the token of the wonde als a rede threde,
Now lies he in schryne in gold that is rede,
Seven yere was he kyng that tyme that he was dede.

KING EDWARD'S MARTYRDOM.
(Hearne's Langtoft, p. 22.)

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE MONASTERY.

SECTION 1st.

Affection for Edmund — Obsequies — Miraculous Agency — Church at Betricksworth — Body translated — uncorrupted — Oswyn — Ecclesiastics — Edward the Elder — College of Priests — Bederic and Athelston — Bury — Miracles of Edmund — Theodred — Leofstanus — Royal Benefactor — King Edmund — Royal Grant or Charter — First Manor — Edwy — Theodred the Second — Adulphus — Edgar — Turkitell — Dunstan — Benedictine Monks — Contest with Seculars — Ailwin — Sweign — Lord of Stapleford — Sweign's Death — Carrucagium — Ulfketel — Battle at Ashdon — Three Epochs — Reputation of Monks — Canute — Seculars ejected — Monks from Hulm Special exemption — Four Crosses — New Church — Canute's Charter — Ailfricus — Hardicanute — Edward the Confessor — Franchise — Charters — Almare — Baldwin — Church of Stone — William the Conqueror — Libri de Consuetudinibus — Monkish Life.

THE affection and reverence which the virtues of Edmund's life had excited in the breasts of his subjects, and the sorrow they felt at his premature and violent death, appear to have been long suppressed and overborne by the horrors of a Pagan invasion,

vasion, and the general misery of a conquered and desolated country.

The obsequies of the martyred King were dignified by no august solemnities; and his body, "buried in the earth *," lay neglected "in the obscure chapel †" at Hoxne for thirty-three years.

Miraculous agency, the means of awakening the devotional energies most usual and most effectual in that age, was then resorted to.

A report was extensively circulated, that some blind were restored to sight, and many other miracles performed by the deceased King and Martyr.

The dormant attention of his late subjects was thus rouzed into action; and not only the common people, but also the nobles, the bishops, and the clergy, were zealous to testify their respect to the memory of the martyred Sovereign.

As a more suitable depository for the honoured corpse, "a large "church was constructed with wood in the town of *Betrichesworth* ‡;" and Abbo says, when they expected, from the length of time, to find the body putrid, to their astonishment it appeared safe

* Abbo Floriacensis, — "in terrâ defossus."

† "In ignobili sacello." Batteley, p. 37, &c. Regist. Curteys. Regist. Pyncebek, &c.

‡ "Per maximam ligneo tabulata basilicam." Curteys Regist. Batteley, p. 124. Per maximam miro ligneo tabulata ecclesiam. Abbo Floriacensis. Collect. Buri.

and

and as in health; with the head united to it, only the mark of a red thread appearing round the neck.

And the blessed King and Martyr was, about A. D. 903, translated from the obscure abode at Hoxne to this stately one, prepared for his reception in a town which, from this circumstance, may be supposed to have then possessed considerable eminence and distinction.

The impression of reverence already made upon the minds of the populace was increased by the declaration, that the sacred body was found with the head re-united to it, and in a state *perfect and incorrupted* as if it had been that very day interred: a female devotee *, called Oswyn, appeared as witness of this incorruption; and averred that she had long secluded herself and lived near the town, and for several preceding years annually cut the hair and pared the nails of the Saint, and had preserved these sacred relicks with religious care.

Some ecclesiastics immediately devoted themselves to a monastic life, under the patronage and protection of the Royal Saint and Martyr. Leofric, Alfric, Bonefeld, and Edmund, were priests; and two others, Leofric and Kenelm, administered to them in the office of deacons. The frequent visits and exhortations of the Bishop of Hulm, and sometimes of the Bishop of London, probably Theodred the First, animated the devotion of the clergy, and augmented the fame of their sanctity. In a few years this small society increased to fourteen priests and five deacons; sub-

* Abbo Floriacensis; and the Registers.

sisting on the offerings and charitable oblations of the pious and devout.

At this period the country still remained in a state of intestine commotion, harrassed and oppressed by the plundering Danes. Edward the elder *, and son of Alfred, marched an army into East Anglia, to repress the rapacity of the Danes; and having ravaged the country, ordered a retreat; but his Kentish men, desirous of more plunder, established their quarters at the town now called *Bury*. Here they were assaulted by the Danes, who had formed a junction with the rebel army under Ethelwald, who was contending for Edward's crown. The Kentish men, after a vigorous defence, were defeated; but the Danes purchased their victory with the loss of many of their men; and the usurper Ethelwald also lost his life.

The ecclesiastical votaries of St. Edmund were, about A. D. 925 †, incorporated into a college of priests, either by King Athelstan, or by Bederic, under the royal protection. From the observations of some of the monastic Registers, it may be supposed that Bederic was at this time chief lord of the town; that from him it had received the name *Bedericheswyrth* ‡; and that he presented the site of the new church, and some lands around it, for the use of the clergy, now incorporated.

* Hume, vol. I. p. 33. Encyclop. Britan. vol. IV. p. 2742.

† Batteley, p. 28. John Bale de Script. Cent. X. n. 34. Leland, Com. Cyg. Cant. edit. Hearne, vol. IX. p. 49.

‡ *Vide* chap. I. p. 5.

The

The institution, having thus obtained royal notice and protection, was rapidly extending its fame and influence. The inhabitants of the town, probably perceiving the advantages likely to accrue to them from the Royal Martyr's increasing celebrity, chose him for their tutelar Saint; and, to render their respect and honour to his memory more evident, the appellation *Betricheswyrth* was discontinued; and the town began about this period to be called *St. Edmund's Bury.*

The means first employed to introduce the deceased King to public attention, were also continued to obtain maintenance and establishment for the clergy. Miraculous interposition, the instrument in ignorant ages of clerical power and influence, was found to be a fruitful source of fame and riches. The supernatural powers of the Royal Saint and Martyr were therefore blazoned with unceasing exertion; and, on account of the numerous and illustrious miracles said to be performed by him, many oblations and benefactions were presented to the rising convent.

The society, at first weak and defenceless, employed the instrument of their aggrandisement as a weapon of defence and protection. Some thieves, having attempted to plunder the church of St. Edmund, were taken in the fact, and executed by order of Theodred, bishop of the diocese; and it was spread abroad, that the villains had been apprehended by the assistance of St. Edmund, who miraculously shackled them, and rendered them unable to move from the ladders and parts of the building they were on, till they were taken by the officers of justice *.

* Regist. Curteys, &c. Collect. Buriens. Batteley, p. 125. Abbo Floriacensis.

The incorruption of St. Edmund's body seems to have been, for many ages, a very favourite miracle with the monastic writers; it was long introduced into most of their important charters. By some it was considered as a distinguished mark of the favour of Heaven; and as an indisputable proof of the Saint's immaculate chastity during life *; and even to have doubted of its truth is stated to have been punished by signal inflictions of Divine vengeance.

A certain nobleman †, named Leofstanus, presuming to doubt concerning the incorruption of the Martyr's body, arrogantly ordered the tomb to be opened that he might have ocular demonstation of this remarkable fact: his request was complied with, and "he saw the body of the saint uncorrupted; but, being immediately seized by a demon, he miserably expired."

This story, no doubt, repressed that curiosity which might otherwise have explored too minutely the clerical arcana.

An ecclesiastic, however, was permitted, without incurring this awful fate, to have the satisfaction of seeing for himself, and for others also; the veracity of Bishop Theodred is adduced as a most unequivocal testimony to authenticate the fact. "Having per-"formed a devotional fast for three days, he opened the coffin,

* Mons. Casenewe, Vit. St. Edmund.

† Regist. Curteys, f. 213. Batteley, p. 125. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 323.

"and

"and found the body perfect; washed it, arrayed it in new vest-"ments;" and again replaced it in its narrow dwelling *.

The first royal benefactor appears to have been King Ethelstan, or Athelstan †. Among other donations, he presented to the church of St. Edmund a copy of the Evangelists; a gift considered in those days of so much importance and value that the donor offered it upon the altar, "pro remedio animæ suæ," for the benefit of his soul ‡.

* Testes corporis S. E. incorrupti.

Oswenne, devota femina, primâ vice vidit ejus incorruptum corpus apud *Bedericheworth.*

Secundâ vice Egelwinus monachus, præpositus sepulchri S. Ed. 30 annis, tempore clericorum.

Tertiâ per S. Theodredum Episcopum et Diœcesanum.

Quartâ per Abbatem Leofstanum.

Quintâ per Abbatem Baldwinum, qui corpus S. Edmundi à capellâ rotundâ in novam basilicam ab eo constructam transtulit, ubi hodie requiescit.

Sextâ per Abbatem Sampsonem. Hic invenit unum *ch*angelum [sic MS.] (Mon. Ang. angelum) de auro optimo fabricatum, cubiti longitudine jacentem supra pectus martyris, & dextra gladium habentem, sinistra vero scriptum sic dicens,

Martyris ecce Zoma [sic MS.] Michaelis servat agelma.

Septimâ comes quidam Leofstanus.

Chronica Aurea, & Chronica Jocelini.

Leland, Collectanea, edit. Lond. 1770. vol. I. p. 222. Old edit. 247 and 248. Quoted Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 293.

† Batteley.

‡ Muratori Antiq. vol III. p. 826. Robertson's Charles V. p. 285.

But

But Edmund *, the son of Edward the Elder, and father of King Edgar, may be considered as having laid the foundation of the wealth and splendour of this establishment, being the first benefactor who bestowed upon it the means of a permanent revenue.

King Edmund is, therefore, certainly entitled to the appellation of *Founder* of the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury; though the monks, after dispossessing the secular clergy, gave the honour of this title to the monarch who confirmed them in the possession of this convent, which had then acquired sufficient celebrity and wealth to attract their attention.

From King Edmund the ecclesiastic servants of the blessed Saint and Martyr received a most important mark of their Sovereign's favour and protection. He gave them a jurisdiction over the whole town, and one mile round it; and confirmed these and other privileges of the convent by a royal grant or charter, which the monastic writers state to have been the first bestowed on the house. "This has the priority of all our charters." They differ as to the precise date of this valuable and important donation; some stating it to have been granted A. D. 945, the 4th year of Pope Martin, the 5th of King Edmund, the donor, and the 76th before the introduction of the regulars or monks: but others fix it to A. D. 942.

"A. D. 945. This very year King Edmund granted this *Charter* "*(privilegium)* to St. Edmund, King and Martyr †.

* Batteley says, Edward the First. Collect. Buriens. Regist. Pynchbeck. Regist Sacrist. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. 1. p. 392. Batteley, p. 125. Regist. Curteys, &c. &c.

† Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 286, ex Mariani Scoti in Bibl. Bodleianâ, v. 3. 7. Jur.

By a strange inattention to dates, the prefatory title gives A. D. 945; the conclusion of the Charter A. D. 942.

"In

" In the name of the Holy Trinity. Although the decrees of " pontiffs and the ordinances of priests are fixed, as the foundation " of mountains, in firmest bonds; nevertheless sometimes, through " the violence and confusion of secular affairs, even the religion " of God and the Holy Church is disordered and injured by the " crimes of the reprobate. For which reason, foreseeing the " uncertain state of future times, we have thought it advantageous " to succeeding posterity, that those things, which in a common " tract are set apart by salutary counsel, should be determined " and confirmed by writing. Wherefore I, Edmund, King of the " Angles, and of other nations in the adjoining circuit, go- " vernor and ruler, recall to mind the actions of my ancestors, " who enriched the churches of Saints with terrestrial wealth; " imitating whose examples, I freely give to the monastery situ- " ated in the place called *Badericheswrythe*, where rests the body " of St. Edmund King and Martyr, the land around the same place, " in such manner that the family of that monastery may possess " it, and eternally continue to do so; and, by the same authority, " transmit it to their posterity. Let also the aforesaid land be free " from every worldly obstacle; with all things which are known " formerly to belong to that place; as well in great as in small " things; in fields, pastures, meadows, woods: and let it not pay " any tax, except to the use of the family of that church: and if " any one, with peculiar temerity, shall presume violently to in- " vade this our aforesaid donation, let him know, that undoubt- " edly he shall answer for it, hesitating and trembling before the " tribunal of the rigorous Judge, unless, before that time, he atones " for his crime by ample satisfaction.

" These are the boundaries of the land which King Edmund " granted by a written charter to Saint Edmund:

" In

" In the first place therefore, towards the South by the tree " of *Ahtus;* and thence upward by the tree of *Edmund;* and " so onwards to the field of *Osulfus*; and so straight onwards by " several hills; and thence upward to the river of *Hamarus*; and " so onwards to the four hedges; and so by the road to *Litland-* " *tun;* and thence across the water by the road to *Bertun* Ditch; " and so straight towards the East to *Holgate;* and so onwards " one furlong * to the East of *Bromlige*; and thence towards the " South to *Newentun* Meadow †.

" The aforesaid donation was made in the year from the incarna- " tion of our Lord 942.

" I, Edmund, King of the Angles, with the seal of the Holy " Cross, &c.

* Perhaps one mile; as some of the Monastic Registers use " stadium" for a mile.

† Quamvis decreta, &c. &c. Ego Eadmundus R. Ang. &c. ad monast. quod situm est in loco qui dicitur *Baderichesurythe*, in quo S. Ed. R. et Mart. quiescit corpore, terram que circa illum locum esse videtur libenter tribuo, &c. &c. Sit libera ab omni mundali obstaculo, &c. &c. tam in magnis quam in modicis rebus, campis, pascuis, pratis, silvis, &c. &c.

Hic sunt termini, quam Edm. R. scripto contulit S. Edm. Saxonice in Chart.

Imprimis igitur Austrum versus per (cujusdam) *Ahti* arborem, et inde sursum per Edmundi arborem, et sic deinceps ad *Osulfi* campum; & sic deinceps rectâ per plures montes; & inde sursum ad *Hamari* fluentum; & sic deinceps ad quatuor sepes, & sic per viam ad *Litlandtunam* (*i. e.* modicam villam), & inde trans aquam per viam ad *Bertunæ* (*i. e.* ville frumentarie) vallem; & sic rectâ Orientem versus ad *Holgatam* (*i. e.* portam ad cavum), & sic deinceps uno stadio ad Orientem *Bromligæ* (*i. e.* myricarum campi), & inde Austrum versus ad *Newentunæ* (*i. e.* villæ novæ) pratum. Mon. Ang. vol. I. 286, ex Mariani Scoti MS. in Bibl. Bodleianâ, v. 3. 7. Jur.

" I, Elfgiva,

"I, Elfgiva, Queen, have confirmed, &c.

"I, Odo, Archbishop of the church of Dover, &c.

"I, Theodred, Bishop of London, &c." Seven other Bishops, and sixteen military Nobles added their confirmations.

The same monarch presented also the manor of Fornham Parva, which appears to have been the first landed property possessed by the monastery without its own precincts.

The elegant, but unfortunate Edwy, is recorded as a benefactor to this monastery *. He bestowed the manors of Beccles and Elmswell. Walter de Pynchbeck, and other Registers, say, that many of the manors and possessions, whose donors are unknown, were given by this monarch, or during his reign from A. D. 956 to 959; but that the charters and grants of these benefactions were lost, during the confusions and contests which terminated in the expulsion of the secular clergy, and the introduction of the monks.

Theodred the second, Bishop of Hulm, and afterwards of London, appears to have been, during this period, a most zealous friend and patron of this institution: he presided over this diocese, together with that of London, till about A. D. 662; and, at his decease, bequeathed to St. Edmund's, Ickworth, Whepstead, Horningsheath, and other valuable manors in the vicinity of Bury †. His will is preserved at length in the Registers of the Abbey.

* Regist. Pynchbeck. Regist. Sacrist. Collect. Buriens.

† Regist. Alb. Regist. Pynchbeck, &c. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 323.

The distinct and accurate succession of Bishops cannot easily be ascertained; the confusion of names and dates being so considerable in the various writers who have recorded and commented upon the events of those rude ages.

From the Bury Registers it may be collected, that the two Theodreds preceded Athulf, or Adulphus *; though he is placed before them by most of the late writers †.

Adulphus ‡ was one of the clergy of St. Edmund; and, on the demise of Theodred the Second, obtained the episcopal authority, and was appointed Bishop of Hulm. Like his predecessors, he greatly favoured and protected the convent of St. Edmund; and, at his death, which happened A. D. 966, he proved himself a liberal benefactor. His bequest consisted of nine considerable manors; the most extensive and valuable legacy that had yet been bestowed on the royal Saint and Martyr.

During the reign of King Edgar, a further and considerable accession of wealth was received by the monastery. Earl Alfgar had bequeathed Cokefield to St. Edmund, after the death of his daughter Ethelfled §. This, together with Cherlesworth, which King Edgar had given her, she, as a mark of her own devotion, and in compliance with the will of her parent, gave to the con-

* Regist. Alb. &c. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 324.

† Godwin de Præsul. Wharton, &c. &c.

‡ In A. D. 963. he signed King Edgar's charter to the church of York.

§ Registers. Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 292.

vent.

vent. And Turketell, the King's chancellor, presented Culford, a part of Palgrave, and many other valuable possessions.

About this time commenced, under the directions, and through the intrigues of Dunstan, the contests for power and influence between the seculars or established clergy of the country, and the monks, or regulars as they are generally termed because they submitted to the rule of an order. Benedictine monks, or those who followed the regulations of St. Benedict, had lately spread themselves into Britain *. The rule of their order subjected them to great mortification; sunk all their own will and liberty in an unreserved submission and obedience to their principal; employed the greatest part of their time in devotional austerities; secluded them in a great measure from all social intercouse; and imposed on them vows of perpetual and inviolable chastity.

These principles were esteemed undoubted evidences of superior and severe piety, and obtained for the monks a very extensive popularity: supported by the favour and protection of the King, and many of the Bishops, they were enabled not only to degrade the secular clergy in the public opinion, but also to dispossess them of many of their most valuable establishments.

The artifices and means employed were various, and appropriate to the character of the times.

The increasing fame and wealth of the convent of St. Edmund did not escape the observation of the monks. The Bishop of the

* Hume, Fosbrooke, &c. &c.

diocese was therefore gained over to espouse the cause of their more distinguished sanctity.

The people were taught, that the secular clergy were too negligent and irreligious to be proper guardians of the holy corpse; and, A. D. 990, the monks so far prevailed, that episcopal authority branded the secular priests of Bury with an indelible mark of disgrace. They were pronounced unworthy any longer to be entrusted with the sacred deposit; and the body of the blessed Saint and Martyr was, "on account of the insolence and irregularity "of the clergy," committed, by Bishop Algare, to the custody of "one Ailwin, a monk *;" and this duty he undertook thirty years before the establishment of the monks in the monastery.

Turchill, one of the Danish leaders under Sweign, having harrassed and devastated the whole of East Anglia, burnt and plundered Bury †. That the sacred corpse of St. Edmund should not be subjected to injury and insult from the sacrilegious Danes, Ailwin, its guardian, conducted it to London, A. D. 1010, and deposited it in Christ Church ‡.

* Regist. Curteys. Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 291. Batteley, p. 30.

† The burning of Bury by Sweign has been by some writers quoted in the Collect. Buriens. dated A. D. 978; but this seems too early. The first invasion was about A. D. 1004. He defeated Ulfketel, and conquered all East Anglia A. D. 1010. H. Hunt. 207. R. Hoveden. 247. Collect. Buriens. Batteley, p. 31.

‡ Another account says, the holy body was placed in St. Gregory's church, near St. Paul's. As it passed through Cripplegate, the lame were restored to the use of their legs. Collect. Buriens. quarto.

The

The zealous monk contrived that this journey should augment the fame of the Saint; for it was given out, that as he passed through the streets of London, several lame were healed, and other miraculous cures performed. After remaining in London about three years, the holy body was, A. D. 1013, re-conveyed to its former habitation at Bury. In its return *, it was hospitably received and entertained by the pious Lord of the manor of Stapleford, who was then suffering under a languishing illness. After his generous hospitality to St. Edmund, he speedily recovered from his illness. As a testimony of gratitude and devotion to the blessed Saint and Martyr, he gave to the convent of Bury his manor of Stapleford.

Sweign, the Danish king, continuing the scourge of England, A. D. 1014, levied a general and excessive contribution on the countries he had subdued; and the monks who compiled the history of this house are willing to persuade us, that Ailwin was admonished in a dream by St. Edmund, to supplicate the conqueror for a melioration of the public calamities; and to warn him, that the inhabitants of these parts were St. Edmund's people, and that he would punish a continuance of their oppression by an infliction of Divine Vengeance.

Lydgate, p. 99, says, "the people with prayers and tears entreat St. Edmund to defend his franchise; and Ayllewyn receives orders from St. Edmund to go to Sweyn."

This remonstrance produced no relief; and the death of Sweign happening soon after, it was reported that St. Edmund had punished

* Lydgate. Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 293. Vetusta Monumenta, vol. II. N° 7.

nished the tyrant's neglect of his admonition. That, on the evening of the purification of the Blessed Mary, as Sweign was surrounded by his nobles and companions, he suddenly exclaimed, "I am struck by St. Edmund*!" though no one saw the hand that inflicted the wound. He languished till the morning, and then expired in miserable torments.

Most of the subsequent historians notice a story similar to this, in mentioning the sudden death of Sweign; though William of Malmsbury prefaces it, by observing, that "the cause of Sweign's "death was uncertain†." And Batteley has employed a page or two in endeavours to rescue the memory of Sweign from what he terms the calumnies of the monks‡.

* Registers. Collect. Buriens.

† Holinshed — "Swain spoiled the Abbey where St. Edmund lay."

Speed — "He ravaged the country, and threatened the monastery, if not ran- "somed by a large sum; which they refused, alledging they were free from all "royal tributes."

Hoveden — "In the midst of his jollity and boasting, he was struck with a knife "that nobody saw."

Baker, p. 20 — "He cried out in the midst of his lords, that he was struck by St. Edmund."

Blomefield, vol. I. p. 396, says, "He died at Thetford, and that others say Gainsborough; but thinks this not likely, being so far from St. Edmund's territories."

Regist. Alb. f. 22. Regist. Curteys, f. 213. Regist. Pynchbeck, f. 321. Regist. Sacrist. f. 20. Lydgate, p. 99, &c. Hoveden, f. 433. Malmsb. f. 71. Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 293. Leland, vol. I. p. 247.

‡ Batteley, p. 33.

The

The report of this miraculous interposition, however, was highly beneficial to the convent; it greatly increased the fame of St. Edmund; and the people, as an acknowledgment of their gratitude and devotion, imposed on themselves a voluntary tax called *carucagium*, of four-pence upon every carucate of land in the diocese, which they offered to the honour of the blessed Saint and Martyr.

East Anglia was, during this period, chiefly defended by the intelligent and persevering courage of the valiant Earl Ulfketel; whose vigorous defence, though it could not entirely repulse the violent invasion of the Danes, yet considerably weakened their force, and diminished their power. This nobleman was one of the most generous benefactors to the monastery of St. Edmund: he presented to the royal Saint and Martyr Redgrave, Rougham, and eight other extensive and valuable manors.

He is supposed to have fallen, with the flower of the East Anglian nobility, in the bloody and decisive battle fought A. D. 1016, at Ashdon in Essex, between Edmund Ironside and Canute, the son and successor of Sweign *.

Four remarkable Barrows, still remaining, and called Bartlow Hills, were thrown up in commemoration of this engagement; and Canute ordered a church to be erected, in which prayers might be offered for the souls of those who fell †: this is supposed to be

* Holinshed. Saxon Chron. ad An. 1016. Morant's Essex, vol. II. p. 539. Loder's Framlingham, p. 14.

† Canute, after obtaining the decisive victory at Assendune, or Ashdown, built a church in that place; which was afterwards consecrated by Ulstan Archbishop of York. Sim. Dunelm, fol. 177. Staveley's History of Churches, p. 133.

Bartlow

Bartlow church, which stands near the hills, and has a round tower after the Danish manner.

We are now arrived at the third important epoch of the monastic history of Bury.

When Sigebert, A. D. 630, *erected the first Christian church,* the foundation of the town's future celebrity may be considered as laid; though it continued in this state 273 years.

From the *translation of St. Edmund's body,* A. D. 903, to this church, the fame and wealth of the conventual institution made very rapid advances during 117 years.

But it was not till the *introduction of the monks,* A. D. 1020, that the establishment attained its full vigour and maturity.

The reputation of the monks, for superior and exemplary sanctity, had now pervaded all ranks of people; and, under the direction of Dunstan, and other popular leaders, they had already carried into effect many of their ambitious projects.

Success stimulated their exertions, and excited more rapacity in the acquisition of power, privileges, and wealth. They now seemed disposed to rid themselves of all competitors in their lucrative employments. The celebrity and increasing revenues of the monastery of Bury had long attracted their notice. Their efforts to obtain entire possession of it were at length successful. Having obtained an ascendency over the mind of Canute, the son and successor of Sweign, this Prince was prevailed on to favour their projects.

projects. The writers of their order say, that the King was terrified by the vengeance of St. Edmund; and that, to expiate his father's crimes, and pacify the angry Saint, he took the monastery of Bury under his royal protection *. From whatever cause it arose, his notice of the establishment was fatal to its ancient inhabitants, the secular clergy.

The episcopal authority of the diocese was placed in the hands of Ailwin, the monk, who had already been appointed the guardian of St. Edmund's corpse. Ailwin † was consecrated Bishop of Hulm, A. D. 1020; and, relying on the favour and protection of King Canute, immediately on the assumption of his power, he ejected the secular clergy from the convent of Bury, and supplied their places with regulars of the order of St. Benedict ‡.

The former charge against the secular clergy, of negligence and irreligion, was asserted and pleaded in justification of these severe and violent measures; but, as there is no history of these transactions transmitted to us by the secular clergy themselves, it is impossible to state both sides of the question. The monastic writers all agree in their account. The events, and the reasons

* Regist. *passim*. J. Sarisb. Polycrat. 8. Batteley, p. 33.

† Alfwinus, *Hoved.*; Ealwinus, *Westimon.*; Aldwinus, *Dunenl.*; Elfwin, *Text. Roff.* successit A. D. 1020, post resignationem Algari; eo enim anno, præcepto Canuti Regis, monachos induxit in *Betryscheword*. Et hic etiam episcopatum deserens, recessit ad cœnobium Eliense (unde monachus processerat) & multos post annos vitam finivit. Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 425.

‡ Batteley, p. 32. Regist. St. Bened. de Hulm. Regist. Nigrum, f. 91. Regist. Sacrist. f. 23. Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 285 and 291, & Regist. in Archivis Archidiac. Sudburiæ.

assigned by the monks for their conduct, are recorded by them all, in terms to the same effect, and nearly similar.

" The body of St. Edmund, King and Martyr, inclosed in a wooden " shrine *, was found, deposited without becoming reverence, " in St. Mary's church, in the town called *Bedricheswrithe*, under " the custody of the secular clergy, who divided among themselves " the benefactions and oblations presented to the martyr, and left " the sacred body of the Saint without due honour. That it might " be preserved with greater veneration, the secular clergy, who " lived disorderly, were ejected, and monks introduced, whom " Ailwin, the Bishop of the diocese of East Anglia, and a monk " of Ely, brought from the monastery of St. Benedict at Hulm, " having divided that convent into two parts. At that time twenty- " six monks, men of religious and exemplary character, were " living together, and serving God and St. Benedict in the same " church; from whom he brought Uvius, the prior of the house, " and twelve others; together with half the furniture belonging " to the aforenamed church, *viz.* books, vestments, vessels, eccle- " siastical ornaments, and all other things that could be divided; " suffering the other part to remain. He then appointed over " them, as abbot, the aforesaid Uvius, prior of Hulm, a man " humble, modest, affable, and gentle; who was consecrated by " the Bishop of London †."

Although

* " *Ligneo loculo*." — In most of the printed accounts, and several of the MS. it is called the " *Wooden Monastery*." This is probably a mistake, originating in the casual omisson of " locello," or some similar word; which is found in its proper place in the MS. here transcribed from.

† Regist. T. M. A curious and fair MS. in the collection of T. M. containing a life of St. Edmund in Latin Hexameters, and an Historic Register of the Abbey from the

Although Ailwin thus zealously and steadily pursued the aggrandisement of the monks, his conduct appears to have been influenced by personal disinterestedness; for no sooner was the important point of expelling the seculars, and investing the monks, adjusted to his satisfaction, than he immediately bestowed on the establishment several distinguished marks of his favour and protection. In order to augment the power and authority of the Abbot and Convent, he diminished his own privileges, and freely granted to them this special exemption; that the monastery and the town *, as given by King Edmund with the extent of a mile round it, should be no longer subject to the episcopal authority, or jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese *. The monks erected four crosses †, one at each

the time of Canute, to about A. D. 1335, p. 198. Regist. Nigrum, f. 91. Regist. Sacrist. f. 23. Regist. St. Benedict de Hulm. Regist. in Archivis Archidi. Subduriæ. Batteley, p. 32. Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 285. 291.

* Regist. Alb. Regist. Curteys, 189. 211. 12, 13, &c. Regist. T. M. Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 294. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 325.

† "It was customary, before the Reformation, to set up crosses near the high ways "which led to churches, to excite the devotion of the passenger. They sometimes had "a more extensive designation, *viz.* to mark the limit of the sanctuary or privileged "space of refuge, in which fugitives, whether for debt or crime, were sure to find "protection. Of such spaces all consecrated churches were possessed.

"The extent of sanctuary was doubtless different in different places, as circumstances "varied. In the far greater number, probably, the boundaries of the churchyard, or "cemetery, were its limits; but at Bury and Hexham, &c. it reached a mile; so "that the chief part of the inhabitants were in a manner in perpetual asylum.

"Undoubtedly the inhabitants of Hexham and Bury, &c. were placed in such a situ-"ation; but it is hazarding little to assert, that the case must have been rare; indulgen-"ces so very extraordinary being only granted by some of our Princes, in peculiar

 "honour

each extremity of the town, to define accurately the boundary and extent of their exempt jurisdiction; and within which the Abbot was himself to exercise episcopal authority.

That the respect of the monks to the Holy Body of the Royal Saint and Martyr might be more evident than that of the seculars their predecessors, the Bishop, in the year following the introduction of the monks, laid the foundation of a magnificent church; in the "*same* "*place that* Sigbereht had founded his monastery *." The *carrucagium*, or voluntary tax, of four pence on every carucate of land in Suffolk and Norfolk, was employed to assist in defraying the expences; and the zealous devotion of the bishop, nobility, and people, supplied what further was necessary by ample contributions and benefactions.

"honour of certain persons of supereminent sanctity and virtue, or of certain events, "either singularly fortunate, or supposed to have fallen miraculously." Reverend Wm. Gibson's Observations on Hemsly Cross, read before the Society of Antiquaries, Monthly Mag. August, 1804, p. 47.

It does not appear that the four crosses at Bury were erected to mark the limit of sanctuary, but to designate and define the boundary of the peculiar privilege the Abbot enjoyed as Lord of the town, and one mile round it, granted by King Edmund; and also the precise extent of the exemption granted by Bishop Ailwin. This use of the Crosses is mentioned not only by the monastic writers, but also in the Papal bulls.

Quatuor Cruces, uno milliario, quatuor ex partibus à villâ distantes, infra quas, abbatem vestrum, sicut hactenus habuit, episcopalem volumus jurisdictionem habere. Bull. Pap. A. D. 1172.

* This perhaps might not be intended to designate the precise spot of ground on which the church was built, but its situation in the same place, *i. e.* the same town, *Bedericheswrythe*. Regist. T. M. 189, &c. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 325. Registers, *passim*.

Canute,

Canute, to testify his approbation of these proceedings, convoked a solemn council * of all his Barons, Peers of the realm, Archbishops, and Abbots; and, under the authority of this august assembly, approved and ratified the acts of Ailwin. The King issued his royal charter, confirming all the former grants and privileges; decreeing that the monks now placed in the monastery should for ever inhabit it; confirming their exemption from episcopal authority; granting the further privilege, that the annual tribute, paid for the support of the royal army and navy, under the title of *Censum Danis*, or *Danegelt*, was hereafter, by all who inhabited the town and a mile round it, to be paid to the Abbot and Convent. Other immunities and benefactions are also granted by this curious and important charter, which is here given at length. It also incontestibly proves, that King Canute did not consider himself the founder of the monastery, though the monkish writers, in gratitude for his favour to them, have bestowed upon him that title. Canute himself states his intention to confirm the grant of Edmund king of the West Saxons.

THE CHARTER OF CANUTE †.

"In the name of Jesus Christ, the Governor *(Poliarchis)* and Sa-
" viour of the universe; the Creator of all things; whose divine so-
" vereignty all authorities, with due service, acknowledge; whose
" omnipotent power all potentates readily obey. For the goodness
" of his goodness is incomprehensible; his mercy unlimited;
" the richness of his goodness ineffable; his long-suffering of the
" sins of the wicked is greater than can be conceived; who by
" daily admonitions warns the righteous not to swerve from their

* Spelman, Concil. p. 534. edit. Lond. 1693.

† Regist. Sacrist. f. 20. Batteley, p. 132.

" regard

" regard of justice; but rather, by constant perseverance he ex-
" horts them, with paternal affection, to maintain the observance
" of it: who, nevertheless, with the same affection commands
" sinners to repent, and turn from their iniquities, because he hates
" the death of the wicked. Excited by his love, and relying on
" his protection, by whose abundant mercy, I Canute, king, ad-
" vanced to the royal throne of all the Isle of Albion, and of many
" other nations, with the advice and consent of the Archbishops,
" Bishops, Abbots, Earls, and all other my faithful subjects, have
" chosen to decree (and desire that in perpetuity it may be con-
" firmed by all) that the monastery, which is called *Bedricesworth*
" be for ever appropriated *(deputatum)* to the community of
" monks; that they may there live, and be in every respect free
" from all jurisdiction of all Bishops of that county, *(comitatûs)*;
" that in it, the monks serving the Lord, without any disturbance,
" may be able to pray to the Lord for the prosperity of the
" kingdom.

" It moreover is my will and pleasure to confirm this my deter-
" mination, by a ratification of that gift of liberty which formerly
" Eadmund king of the West Saxons bestowed on his Namesake
" *(suo Equivoco)* to obtain his favour and eternal reward; *viz.* on
" Eadmund, the King and Martyr; because I desire, by an act
" of benevolence, to enjoy (as far as I shall by his prayer deserve)
" a portion of his felicity after the course of this life.

" By this liberty, I allow the Saint to enjoy the profits arising
" from the *town* in which he rests; that as often as all the people
" pay tribute to the Danes *(Censum Danis)*, either for their ships

" or

" or arms, that the inhabitants of this *town* should pay the tri-
" bute for such purposes as the monks of that place may think
" proper.

" And may this grant be a comfort to us *(obtain forgiveness of*
" *our sins), viz.* myself, my Queen Aelgifa, and our children; and
" to all who in times past conceded to him this liberty.

" I grant also an addition to this liberty, *viz.* the sea fish which
" should annually accrue to me in right of toll *(thelonei lucrum);* and
" the fishery which Ulfketel had in Wylle *; and the regalities
" *(jura)* of all causes in the towns adjacent, or which hereafter, by
" the grace of God, may be added to the said monastery.

" I also grant leave to my Queen for her oblations, permiting
" her to give 4000 eels, with the gifts pertaining to them, for the
" annual tribute of the town of *Lackyngheth.*

" If any one should endeavour (which may God avert!) by any
" means whatever to subvert this liberty by the yoke of slavery, or
" to change it through a wicked intention of again introducing
" the clergy; may he be cursed with eternal captivity! may he
" never enjoy his liberty! may he be given up to the service of
" the devil! and, with him, may he be bound with inextricable
" chains; unless satisfaction should succeed his error! which we
" heartily desire.

" ✠ I Canute, King of the nation of the Angles, and also of
" others, have commanded this privilege to be drawn up; and,

* The Mon. Ang. has " in villâ."

" as

" as a confirmation, have marked it with the sign of our Lord's " Cross.

" ✠ I Aelgifa, Queen, with the greatest alacrity of mind, have " confirmed this.

" ✠ I Welstan, Archbishop, have given my consent.

" ✠ I Althelnoth, Archbishop, have confirmed it," &c. &c *

Then follow the signatures of six Bishops, fourteen military Nobles, seven Abbots, and five names without title.

The church occupied twelve years in building †; and, upon its completion, was consecrated by Agelnothus, Archbishop of Canterbury, on St. Luke's day, A. D. 1032, and dedicated to the honour of Christ, St. Mary, and St. Edmund. The royal Saint and Martyr was deposited in a noble shrine, splendidly adorned with jewels and precious ornaments; and the reverence and veneration

* In the Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 287, this charter is given as an Inspeximus, and is thus prefaced.

" The inspection and confirmation of the charter of King Canute.

" The King, to the Archbishops, &c. &c. Health. We have inspected the " charter, which Canute, of good memory, our progenitor, formerly King of Eng- " land, made in these words: In nomine, &c.

And, at the conclusion of the original signatures, is added; " We have confirmed, " &c.; these donations &c. Given under our hand at Westminster, the 4th day of " May, by the King himself, and by a fine of one hundred and twenty pounds." Duppli. Cartæ 8 Edward II. n. 11. memb. 5. Vide etiam Cart. 7 & 8 Rich. II. n. 11. Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 287, 288.

† Regist. T. M. et alii.

paid

paid to his sacred memory, already very productive to the monks, was daily extended by the encreasing fame and magnificence of the monastery. Canute, in addition to his grants and benefactions, honoured the church with his personal devotions. He offered his own crown at the tomb of the martyr; and this illustrious example was, in after-ages, followed by succeeding monarchs, who bowed with adoration at the shrine of the martyr, and loaded it with multitudes of rich gifts and oblations.

Having thus, under the auspices of his Sovereign, carried into full effect the great object of his wishes, and established his favourite monks in the full enjoyment of their rich and splendid possessions, Ailwin resigned his Bishoprick of Hulm; and retiring to end his days in the obscurity and seclusion of the cloister, he again entered the monastery of Ely, of which he had formerly been a monk.

He was succeeded in the government of the diocese by Ailfricus the Second, surnamed the Black, who also became a distinguished benefactor to the monastery of St. Edmund, and bequeathed several valuable manors to the convent *.

Hardicanute, the son and successor of Canute the Great, "anxious to tread in the steps of his pious parent, inflamed with "the love of the uncreated Father, and rejoicing in the protec- "tion and honour of the glorious Martyr St. Edmund, with the "approbation and concurrence of the Clergy and Princes of his "realm, confirmed and ratified the exemption of the Abbot and

* A copy of his will, Regist. Alb. f. 22. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 326.

" Convent from all ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority; with " all their other immunities and privileges;" and added this dreadful denunciation upon all who should rashly despise this decree, and dare to violate its authority by infringing the power and authority of the Abbot, " that they should suffer excommunication, and be " condemned to the punishment of eternal fire with Judas Iscariot; " and, moreover, should pay into the King's exchequer thirty talents " of gold *."

This fine was several ages after, in consequence of this grant, actually levied upon William Bishop of Norwich.

On the demise of Hardicanute, the throne of England descended to his brother Edward, whose character, drawn by the indiscriminating venal pen of monkish annalists, appears that of a Saint and Confessor. The more scutinizing and intelligent eye of impartial history, upon a candid investigation, consigns it to the stigma of a debilitating superstition.

In the historical records of Bury Abbey, this monarch has obtained distinguished notice; and, in grateful acknowledgment of liberal benefactions, the monks have bestowed on him the epithets — " Sanctus et Inclitus."

When Edward the Confessor visited Bury †, so great was his veneration for the Royal Saint and Martyr, that he was accustomed to perform the last mile of his journey on foot, as a common

* Regist. Sacrist. Batteley, p. 128.

† Batteley, p. 43. Regist. Alph. verb. Bury.

pilgrim;

pilgrim; giving, on his approach to the holy place, this open testimony of his humility and devotion.

The sagacious monks did not fail to employ, beneficially to their community, the opportunity afforded them by the friendship of a King so strongly imbued with the pious liberality of the times.

In the first year of his reign the King came to Bury on St. Edmund's day; and the next morning seeing the young monks eating barley bread, enquired of Abbot Baldwin, why these young men of his kinsman (as he was pleased to call St. Edmund) were no better fed; "because," replied the Abbot, our possessions are "too weak to maintain them with stronger food."

"Ask what you will," said the King, "and I will give it to "you, that they may be better provided for, and better enabled to "perform the service of God." The Abbot having consulted with his monks, asked of the King the manor of Mildenhall, with its appurtenances; and the jurisdiction of the eight Hundreds and an half with all the royalties, afterwards called the Franchise. The King observed, that his request was indiscreet, because the grant of these liberties would involve him and his successors in continual trouble; that he would willingly have granted him three or four manors, if he had required them; and would, out of respect to his kinsman, grant this request, however indiscreet *.

Whatever credit this story may obtain, the Abbot was certainly constituted Lord of the Franchise by Edward the Confessor; but the charters, purporting to be his, preserved in the Registers, do

* Collect. Buriens.

not seem to carry all the marks of authenticity that might be expected in originals of that age.

The propensity of the monks to forge these documents, when accident had destroyed the original, is well known. Two of them are here given, which may at least be supposed to convey the general tenor of the grants made and confirmed by this monarch.

"I, Edward, King of England, to all the faithful; with my "Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls and Barons, in council, do "will and command that the monastery of St. Edmund my "kinsman, and the town in which it is situated, may be for "ever confirmed in those privileges which were granted to it by "Canute the King, and Hardicanute my brother; that it never "be occupied by any other persons than monks; that no Bishop "that now is, or may be hereafter, in Norfolk or Suffolk, shall "have any authority or power in this monastery, nor within "the bounds of the same town marked out by the crosses. "That the monks who dwell there may themselves chuse an "Abbot from their own number. I will also, that the liberty "which is called *Sochne*, or Soke, and which I have granted "to the said monastery and town, may continue for ever in "all places where the monks have lands or vassals; or may "acquire them in future by the assistance of God and good "men. Now therefore we require all the friends of God now "living, or who may hereafter exist, that by the fear of God "those liberties and privileges, which our ancestors and ourselves have granted to St. Edmund and to his monastery, may "never be changed or annihilated; if any one incited by the

"devil

" devil shall attempt to change, annihilate, or deprave this li-
" berty, let him be anathematized, et in Gehennam Ignis demis-
" sus, unless he reforms his life *."

" I, Edward, King of, &c. &c. grant also to Saint Edmund the
" King, the town of Mildenhall, with its produce and inhabitants:
" and the royalties of eight hundreds, together with the half
" hundred of Thingoe (which in English is called *Nigend Half Hun-*
" *dred);* and I grant the royalties of all villages belonging to
" the said eight hundreds and a half wherever they may be
" situated, which they now possess, or which they may here-
" after acquire, for the love of God, myself, and all people †."

From Edward the Confessor it was, that the Abbot first received the privilege of coining at a mint established within the precinct of the monastery.

On the promotion of Stigand ‡ to the see of Canterbury, A. D. 1047, his brother Egelmar, or Almare, was consecrated Bishop of Hulm; and following the steps of his predecessors, was a zealous patron and liberal benefactor to the Abbey of St. Edmund.

* Collect. Buriens. E Regist. Sacristæ.

" † Ego Edwardus, Rex, &c. &c. annuo etiam S. R. Eadm. terram ad Mildenhale cum victu et hominibus. Et jura regalia octo & dimid. Hundredum ad Thinhgowe quod Anglicè dicitur *Nigend Half-hundred*, et omnium villarum suarum jura Regalia annuo in o'ibus terris quas modo habent & quas adhuc adquisituri sunt, in Dei amore, ac mei, & totius populi." Collect. Buriens. 379.

‡ Regist. Sacrist. p. 49. Regist. Alb. 23-4. Blomefield, vol. II. p. 200.

He

He bequeathed several valuable manors; and his will is recited at length in several of the Registers.

The establishment was now rapidly rising to its meridian of riches and splendour; and fifty years were scarcely elapsed since Canute confirmed the regulars in quiet possession of the monastery, when they determined to give another, and more distinguished proof of their attachment to the honour of their Patron Saint and Martyr.

The Sacrists *, Thurstanus and Tolinus, under the auspices of Abbot Baldwin, demolished the church which had been lately erected †; and as that had been constructed of wood ‡, or chiefly so §, another structure was erected of hewn stone, in which "the "precious, undefiled, uncorrupted Body of the most Glorious "King and Martyr, St. Edmund," was translated, that the magnificence of the church, destined to contain this sacred and valuable deposit might be more suitable to the ardent devotion of his new votaries, and to the abundant revenues the monastery enjoyed.

* Batteley, p. 45. Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 300.

† It does not distinctly appear that St. Edmund was buried in the church built *by Sigbert.*

Thirty-three years after his martyrdom his body was brought to Bury, and buried in a church built for its reception.

The foundation of a *circular* church was discovered during a subsequent reparation.

‡ Regist. T. M. p. 200.

§ "Presentem basilicam," Regist. T. M. p. 200.

King

King William the Conqueror, when seated on the throne of these realms, graciously confirmed to the Abbot and Convent, by his royal charter, all the donations, immunities, and privileges, bestowed on the monastery by his predecessors *; and, in addition to this, it is stated, that "the glorious King William, "of the Norman Nation, &c. A. D. 1065, gave this licence and "liberty to Baldwin, Abbot of *Bury St. Edmund's:* that he might in- "crease the possessions of his church of St. Edmund, either by "purchasing them from his neighbours with money, or by ob- "taining them from their own free will and gift; hence it fol- "lowed, that he acquired many free-men (whom we call *Soke- "mans)* and their services (or homages); and, by these acquisi- "tions, he enriched his monastery †."

This monarch soon after gave the monks a farther proof of his regard, by issuing a royal mandate to the Abbot of Peterborough ‡, commanding that the Abbot and Convent of St. Edmund should be permitted to take sufficient stone, for the erection of their

* The *uncorrupted* body of St. Edmund is mentioned in King William's charter. See also Contests with Bishops, chap. IV. § 3.

† "Anno Mlxv gloriosus rex Will. ex Norm. gente, &c. &c. hanc licentiam & facultatem Baldwino abbati, scilicet, de burgo St. Ed. contulit, ut quocunque modo posset terras ecclesiæ St. Ed. adiceret, vel pecuniâ eas à vicinis suis redimendo, vel dono ipsorum proprio & spontanâ eorum voluntate adquirendo; unde factum est, ut plures liberos homines, quos *Sokemannos* vocamus, et illorum homagia adquireret, et eorum adquisitione monasterium suum locupletaret." Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 288. Ex Mar. Scotus.

‡ Regist. Nigrum. Regist. Sacrist. f. 23. Batteley, p. 50.

church,

church, from the quarries of Barnack, in Northamptonshire; and granting it an exemption from *thelonium* and the usual tolls chargeable upon its carriage from that place to Bury.

This noble edifice was, A. D. 1095 *, brought to a sufficient state of forwardness to receive the Holy Body of the Saint, which was then placed in it with much solemn and pompous ceremony; and this is the last recorded removal of the blessed King and Martyr; as the monasterial church now erected continued to exist to the period of the dissolution. During that space of time, however, though not entirely rebuilt, it received several very considerable additions and important reparations.

The monks having thus surmounted the opposition of their rivals, and deposited their Patron Saint, with condign honour, in his splendid church, had only to devote themselves to the several occupations and employments of their order. And the importance of these occupations may be seen in the "Libri Consuetudinum †." These books afford a remarkable instance of the debilitating power of superstitious habits on the human mind. Rational devotion and mental exertion superseded and lost in a confused crowd of trivial ceremonies; the attention in a great measure perverted from the essential duties of piety and virtue, by being directed to a minute and ostentatious display of obedience and unreserved submission to the superiors of the

* Regist. T. M. p. 201.

† A curious one of this Abbey in the Library of Lord Cornwallis, and in the Collect. T. M.

order;

order; the cold and inanimate repetition of stated prayers; the rigid observance of the injunction of silence at certain places, and in the presence of particular persons; in regulating the number and weight of tapers; the peculiar texture and form of a garment, and other similar avocations, equally conducive to form the dignified and useful character of a Christian; but, to illustrate the manners, and understand with clearness and precision the directions and frequent allusions to the stated ordinances and customs of monkish life, it is necessary often to recur to the rule of the order; which is therefore here given from the first volume of the Rev. Mr. Fosbrooke's Monachism.

BENEDICTINE RULE.

"Abbot to represent Christ; to call all his monks to council "in important affairs, and afterwards adopt the advice he thought "best. Obedience without delay; silence, no scurrility, idle words, "or such as excite laughter; humility, patience in all injuries; "manifestation of secret faults to the Abbot; contentment with "the meanest things and employment; not to speak when un-"asked; to avoid laughter; head and eyes inclined downwards; "to rise to church two hours after midnight; every week the "Psalter to be sung through; to leave the church together at "a sign from the superior. A dean over every ten monks in "large houses. Light in the dormitory: to sleep cloathed, with "their girdles on, the young and old intermixed. Upon suc-"cessless admonition and public reprehension, excommunication; "and, in failure of this, corporal chastisement. For light faults, "the smaller excommunication, or eating alone after the others "had done; for great faults, separation from the table, prayers,

" and society, and neither himself nor food to receive the be-
" nediction; those who joined him or spoke to him to be them-
" selves excommunicated; the Abbot to send seniors to per-
" suade him to humility and making satisfaction; the whole
" congregation to pray for the incorrigible, and if restless, to
" proceed to expulsion. No person expelled to be received
" after the third expulsion. Children to be punished by fast-
" ing or whipping. Cellarer to do nothing without the Ab-
" bot's order, and in large houses have assistants. Habits and
" goods of the house to be in the hands of proper officers;
" the Abbot to have an account of them. No property. Dis-
" tribution according to every one's necessities. The monks to
" serve weekly and by turns at the kitchen and table. Upon
" leaving their weeks, both he that left it and he that began it
" to wash the feet of the others, and on Saturday to clean
" all the plates, and the linen which wiped the others feet. To
" resign the dishes clean and whole to the cellarer, who was
" to give them to the new hebdomadary. These officers to have
" drink and food above the common allowance before the others,
" that they might wait upon them cheerfully. The hebdoma-
" daries, both entering and retiring from office, were on solemn
" days to continue to the masses; after matins on the Sunday,
" to kneel and beg the others to pray for them; then those
" going out to say a certain prayer three times, and receive the
" benediction; the one coming in to do the same, and after
" benediction go into office. — Infirmary. Its officer. Use of
" the baths, and flesh for the sick ordered. Rule mitigated to
" children and old men, who have leave to anticipate the hours
" of eating. Refection in silence, and reading Scripture during
" meals. What was wanted to be asked for by a sign. Rea-
" der

"der to be appointed for the week. Two different dishes at "dinner, with fruit. One pound of bread for both dinner and "supper. No meat but to the sick. Three quarters of a pint of "wine *per* day. From Holyrood-day to Lent dining at nones; in "Lent till Easter, at six o'clock from Easter to Pentecost, at "sixths, and all summer, except on Wednesdays and Fridays, "then at nones. Collation or spiritual lecture every night before "complin (after supper), and, complin finished, silence. Loss of "rank, subtraction of wine or their allowance, or sitting in the "place of disgrace, for tardiness at church or table. Prostration "with the face towards the ground, without the church gate, "when the monks went to prayers, for the excommunicated. "Immediate pardon to be sought for a fault in the chant; faults "in other places, or breaking any thing, to be spontaneously "acknowledged before the Abbot and congregation. Abbot "to give the signal for going to church, and nobody to sing "or read there without his leave. Work from prime till near "ten o'clock from Easter till cal. Octob.; from ten till near twelve, "reading. After refection at twelve, the meridian or sleep, unless "any one preferred reading. After nones, labour again till the "evening. From cal. Oct. to Lent, reading till 8 A. M. then "thirds and afterwards labour till nones. After refection, read-"ing or psalmody. In Lent, reading till thirds; doing what "was ordered till ten; delivery of the books at this season made "(*vide* Dec. Lanfr.). Senior to go round the house and see that "the monks were not idle. On Sunday, all reading except the "officers, and the idle and infirm, who had work given them. "Particular abstinence in Lent, from meat, drink and sleep, and "especially gravity. Monks travelling to say the canonical hours "wherever they happened to be. Monks staying out beyond a "day not to eat abroad without the Abbot's leave. No other

" use than that of prayer to be made of the church *. Stran-
" gers to be received with prayer (by them and the monks);
" the kiss of peace, prostration and washing their feet, as of
" Christ, whom they represented, then to be led to prayer, the
" Scripture read to them, after which the prior might break his
" fast (except on a high fast). Abbot's kitchen and the visitors
" separate, that guests coming in at unseasonable hours might
" not disturb the monks. No letters or presents to be received
" without the Abbot's leave. Abbot to invite his monks when
" he had no strangers. Workmen in the house to labour for
" the common profit. Novices to be tried by denials and hard
" usage before admission; a year of probation; rule read to them
" in the interim every fourth month; admitted by a petition
" laid upon the altar, and prostration at the feet of all the
" monks. Parents to offer their children by wrapping their
" hands in the pall of the altar, promising to leave nothing to
" them (that they might have no temptation to leave the house);
" and, if they gave any thing with them, to reserve the use of
" it during their lives. Priests requesting admission to be tried
" by delays; to sit near the Abbot, but not to exercise sacerdotal
" functions without leave, and conform to the rule. Strange
" monks to be received, and if of good intreated to stay. Monks
" ordained priests to be subject to the rule and officers, or else
" expelled. Precedence according to the time of profession. Elders
" to call the juniors brothers, the juniors to call the elders *nonnos* †,

* Thus Theodulphus, Bishop of Orleans, after Bennet's æra, says, " Videmus crebro in ecclesiis messes et fænum congeri" (we see corn and hay, often stored in churches). Epist. p. 263. — The canon against carrying on " trades in churches," in Lyndwood, is well known.

† Du Cange gives no precise definition of this word; but I am of opinion, from such collated evidence as he cites, that, as the Abbot was *father*, it was equivalent to the modern *uncle*. — The rule says, the word signifies paternal respect.

" the

" the Abbot *domnus* or *pater*. When two monks met, the junior was " to ask benediction from the senior; and when he passed by, " the junior was to rise and give him his seat, nor to sit down " till he bade him. Abbot to be elected by the whole society " and plurality of votes; his life and prudence to be the qualifi- " cation. Prior elected by the Abbot; deposable for disobedience. " Porter to be a wise old man, able to give and receive an answer, " who was to have a cell near the gate, and a junior for a com- " panion. If possible, to prevent evagation water; a mill, gar- " den, oven, and all other mechanical shops, to be within the " house. Monks going on a journey to have the precious " prayers of the house, and, upon return, pray for pardon of ex- " cesses on the way. Impossible things ordered by the superior " to be humbly represented to him; but, if he persisted, the as- " sistance of God to be relied on for the execution of them. " Not to defend or excuse one another's faults. No blows or " excommunication without the permission of the Abbot. Chil- " dren might be corrected with discretion. Mutual obedience; " but no preference of a private person's commands to those of " the superiors. Prostration at the feet of superiors as long as " they were angry." — Sanctorum Patrum Regulæ Monasticæ, Louv. 12mo, 157, fol. 9—51. Joh. de Turrecremata, Concordia Regularum, &c. &c. &c."

The third and fourth Plates represent a Benedictine monk, habited according to the rule of his Order.

The dull monotony of the monkish life is not calculated to excite much interest. The history of monastic transaction has necessarily a great degree of uniformity; and, when entered into very minutely, can only induce tedium and disgust. No considerable

siderable attention can be awakened by a long detail of brethren paying the last debt of nature; and others admitted to supply their place. We do not feel very anxious to learn how often the Abbots went to their granges and returned to the monastery; how many solemn processions were made; how many masses were performed every day; and who celebrated them. Nor is it very gratifying to curiosity to be informed, with soporific minuteness, who vacated, and who succeeded to the numerous livings and preferments in the disposal of the Abbot and Convent.

The calm uniformity of this general tenor of conventual history was, however, sometimes interrupted. Attempts were made to injure and invalidate the privileges and immunities of the establishment; and then all the abilities and energies of its inhabitants were called into action.

These occasions of exertion were frequent at Bury, on account of the very extensive and important rights and exemptions claimed by the Abbot and Monks. Some of the most remarkable of these contests are selected; and as they originated in the ecclesiastical immunities and the civil privileges of the Abbot, it is necessary, in order to understand the nature and causes of them, that an abstract or summary of those privileges and immunities should be previously given.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION II.

SUMMARY OF ABBOTS PREROGATIVES.

Mitred Abbots — of Bury — Exemption from Episcopal Authority — Papal See — Bulls — Nature and Extent of Exemption — General Interdict — Episcopal Benediction — Minor Privileges — Synod — Parochial Clergy — Parliamentary Baron — Temporal Privileges — Jura Regalia — Causes — Assizes — Aldermen — Oath of Fealty.

THE superior order of monastic governors, called Mitred Abbots *, enjoyed, in the larger monasteries, within the limits of the several houses, the power and authority of Bishops. They gave the solemn benediction; conferred the lesser orders; and performed the various episcopal duties.

The Abbot of Bury enjoyed all the spiritual and temporal privileges of the order; and, in addition to them, some very important peculiar exemptions and immunities, both ecclesiastical and civil.

* Tanner, Notit. Pref.

Of

Of the peculiar ecclesiastical or spiritual privileges, that which seems to have been considered of the greatest importance, and which was maintained with the greatest energy and vigour, was

The absolute exemption of the town and convent from the episcopal authority and jurisdiction of the diocesan.

This having been conceded to the monastery by Bishop Ailwin *, was confirmed by Canute, and the whole civil and ecclesiastical states of the realm; and the monks were particularly careful to have the confirmation repeated in all the charters, as they were renewed by succeeding monarchs.

When the Roman Sovereign Pontiff obtained an influence in the English Church, the sanction of his confirmation was, from time to time, granted to this exemption; but with the characteristic caution of the Papal Court, especial care was taken always to notice the subjection of the monastery to the jurisdiction and authority of the Roman See, by inserting in the bulls, "ad Romanam Ecclesiam immediatè spectantis †;" or, "ad "Romanam Ecclesiam nullo medio pertinentis ‡;" or some expression to the same effect.

* See page 67 of this work.

† Pope Innocent's Bulls. Batteley, p. 99 and 159.

‡ The Expression "*nullo medio*" seems to have occasioned the mistake of supposing that the monastery of Bury was "*by no means belonging to the see of Rome.*" Those words appear more probably to signify, that the monastery belonged to the church of Rome, without the intervention of any other authority: it appertained to that see, without any other medium of connection. See Martin's Thetford, p. 108 and 109.

The

The first confirmation from the Popes appears to have been obtained, A. D. 1071, by Abbot Baldwin, from Pope Alexander the Second; subsequent renewals were obtained from Gregory, Eugenius, Urban the Second, Calixtus the Second, Alexander the Third, and many other of the Roman Pontiffs. About sixty papal bulls were granted to confirm and enlarge the rights and privileges of this monastery.

The precise nature and extent of this so much valued privilege is not easily ascertained. It appears to have consisted chiefly in an exemption from episcopal visitation, and the consequent and usual designations of subordination and submission.

The due administration of rites appertaining to the episcopal function seems to have been regulated and performed by various Bishops; and is provided for by the bull of Pope Calixtus *, which states, that the monks "shall receive from a Catholic Bishop the "chrism; the holy oil; the consecration of altars, churches, "tables; the ordination of monks, and other episcopal duties."

The bulls of Pope Gregory the Ninth explain this exemption more at large. One, by apostolic authority, confirms all the ancient liberties and immunities of the monastery; another ordains, that "† no person, except the Roman Pontiff, or his legate, shall, "in the town of St. Edmund, or within the four crosses, dis-"tant one mile from the four extremities of the town, as was for-"merly granted by Alexander the Second, and others our pre-"decessors, claim to himself any power or right; or celebrate

* Regist. Sacrist. f. 11. Regist. Nigrum, f. 54. Batteley, p. 65.

† Batteley, p. 93. Regist. Sacrist.

" any public mass; or build any convent, oratory or chapel; or " hold any synod; or exercise any episcopal office."

The privilege of exemption from the effect of a general interdict was also enjoyed by the Abbot of St. Edmund *; and must have been considered as a valuable and important privilege in those days, when excommunication and ecclesiastical censures were punishments more formidable than any originating with the civil power. A bull of Alexander the Third † explains and limits this exemption thus: " But when the country is under a general interdict, you " are permitted, with doors shut, the interdicted and excommu-

* England was several times under a general interdict. Theodred, Archbishop of Canterbury, interdicted all King Stephen's dominions. Holinshed, f. 57.

Knighton tells us, A. D. 1208, the Pope excommunicated King John, " et totam " terram Anglicanam supposuit interdicto;" which began the first Sunday after Easter, and continued six years and one month.

The form, from Du Cange:

" In the name of Christ, we (the Bishops), in the behalf of the Father, Son, and " Holy Ghost, and in behalf of St. Peter, the chief of the Apostles, and in our own " behalf, do excommunicate and interdict this church, and all the chapels thereunto " belonging, that no man, from henceforth, may have leave, either of God, or St. " Peter, the chief of the Apostles, to sing mass, or to hear it, or in any wise to admi- " nister any divine office, nor to receive God's tithes, without our leave; and whoever " shall presume to sing or hear mass, or perform any Divine office, or receive God's " tithes, contrary to this interdict, on the part of God the Father Almighty, of the Son, " and of the Holy Ghost, and in the behalf of St. Peter and all the Saints, let him be " excommunicated and accursed, and separated from all the society, and from entering " into Holy Mother church, where there is forgiveness of sins; and let him be " anathema maranatha for ever with the Devils in hell. Fiat. Fiat. Fiat. Amen." Loder's Framlingham, pp. 23, 24, 25.

† Collect. Buriens.

" nicated

" nicated excluded, without ringing the bells, and with a low " voice, to celebrate divine offices."

The Abbots, on their appointment, received episcopal consecration and benediction *; but a bull of Alexander the Third decreed, that the Abbots should not, at that time, be required to make profession of, and promise obedience to, any Archbishop or Bishop; but to the Roman Pontiff alone.

Other Ecclesiastical privileges †, such as " Sandaliorum, Tunicæ, " Dalmaticæ, coronas faciendi," giving the benediction " *more episco-* " *pali*," &c. are mentioned and alluded to by the monastic writers; and the concession of them to the Abbot was confirmed by Pope Alexander the Third, and Urban the Third.

The Abbot held synods in his own Chapter-house, and made synodical institutions for the observance of the clergy under his authority.

The Abbot also appointed the parochial clergy of Bury. This power is now vested in, and exercised by, the corporation of the town.

The Abbot of Bury was a Spiritual Parliamentary Baron. This appears in those days not to have been considered as a privilege, but as an expensive and troublesome duty.

* Batteley, p. 79. Regist. Nigrum. Regist. Sacrist. &c.

† Collect. Buriens.

The temporal prerogatives of the Abbot have their foundation in the important grant of King Edmund, conceding an absolute authority over the town; and the still more important and valuable donation of King Edward the Confessor, constituting the Abbot Lord of the Franchise.

The terms "*Jura Regalia*," employed in the royal charters, have, by their indefinitive and general nature, occasioned much uncertainty and discussion concerning the full extent and meaning of these regalities: but it hath been allowed and confirmed, that the Abbot had a jurisdiction, not only in common pleas, but also in pleas of the crown, before his own justices within the "Banna Leuca" of St. Edmund.

The Abbot had the power of trying and determining, by his high steward, causes which arose within the franchise; and in the town, and one mile round it, he possessed the authority of chief magistrate, and of inflicting capital punishment.

No officer of the King, as Chief Justice, High Sheriff, Eshceator, Coroner, Seneschal, or Marshall, without the Abbot's permission, could sit, hold a court, or execute an office, within the town of Bury.

This will be more fully illustrated in the chapter of the Franchise; but a remarkable instance may be here given, as stated by John Eversden, a monk of this house, and cellarer of this monastery. A. D. 1294, King Edward caused the town of *St. Edmund's Bury*, in which no officer of the King had presumed to exercise any jurisdiction since our liberties were first granted, to be taxed

taxed by the common assessors of the country sitting in the publick toll-house, or hall of the town, and delivering the articles to the burgesses put to their oaths; from which assembly, to our great grief, we could no way, either by intreaty or money, exempt our own servants. However, the King complied so far as to grant, that for the future this should not be a precedent ever after to do us any prejudice in relation to these and other liberties of ours, till then enjoyed and practised; and a special charter was passed for us to this effect *.

The Abbot appointed the town in which the King's justices should hold the assizes for the liberty; and nominated a grand jury for their district.

The high steward, or seneschal, of the liberty of St. Edmund's, and all the inferior offices, received their appointment from the Abbot, and acted under his authority.

The Abbot, as Lord of the town, claimed the right of appointing the Alderman, and naming the Keepers of the gates; but, after some time, it was determined that the Alderman, or chief Burgess of the town, should be annually elected by the other Burgseses composing the corporation; but not execute the duties of his office till the election had received the Abbot's confirmation. Previous to the granting this confirmation, the Alderman elect took an oath of obedience and fealty to the Abbot †.

* John Eversden, History of Taxes, p. 87.

† The Mayor of Cambridge, when he enters upon the office, takes an oath similar to that imposed upon the Alderman of Bury when the Abbey flourished, *viz.* that he will maintain the privileges, liberties, and customs of the University, to which he is subservient.

"The

"The Abbey and Convent governed the townsmen *, and all "within *Banna Leuca*, within the bounds of a mile from the town, "by their steward; who gave this oath to the new elect Al- "derman:"

"Copied out of a Ledger Book of the Abbey:

"Ye schall swere that ye schall bere yow trewly and fathfully "in the office of the Aldermanscipe of this town of Bury; ayens "the Abbot and the *Covent* of this place, and all her mynistris: "ye schall bere, kepe, and maintaine, pees to yowre powere; and "ye schall nor thyng appropre nor accroche that longyth to the "said Abbot and *Covent*; nor take upon the thyngis that long on "to the office of the Baylishcipp of the sayd town: also, that ye "schall not procure, be yow, nor be noon other, privyly nor "openly, any thyng unlawful, that myght be harme or damage "on to the seyd Abbot and *Covent*; nor suffered to be done; but "that ye schall be redy to meynteyn and defende them, and there "mynystris, yn all the ryghts and customs that of dew long on to "them, inasmuche as ye mey leyfully do. Thees artycles and "poyntis ye schall observe and kepe the tym that ye stand in "this office. So help you God and all hys Seynts, and by this "Boke."

These privileges and immunities were established on a multitude of grants and charters of confirmation.

* Weever, Funeral Monuments, 722 and 723.

The

The monks obtained from every succeeding monarch, on his accession to the throne, a grant or charter confirming the liberties and immunities granted to the church of St. Edmund by his royal predecessors and progenitors, and adding any privileges that he chose himself to confer. A similar repetition of papal bulls were also obtained from almost every Pope to sanction and confirm the ecclesiastical exemptions *.

* Dugdale, Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 292.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION III.

CONTESTS WITH BISHOPS.

Desire to place Episcopal See at Bury — Herfastus — Baldwin's Journey to Rome — Reception — Porphiry Altar — Bull — Herman — William the Conqueror's Council — Charters — Herbert Losinga — Carrucagium — Cathedral at Norwich — Thomas de Blundeville — Roger de Skerning — Robert of Canterbury — Episcopal Visitation — William Bateman — King Edward the Third — Bishop fined — Assistance of St. Edmund — Thomas de Arundell — Visit to Monastery — Abbot of Hulm — William Alnwyke — Nicholas Bagot.

THE generous piety of a succession of Sovereigns, and the fostering care of zealous Diocesans, having reared the monastery of St. Edmund to an unexampled pitch of wealth and prosperity, its ample endowments very soon excited a desire to place the seat of episcopal authority on so splendid a foundation.

Herfastus

Herfastus being elevated *, A. D. 1070, to the Bishopric of Hulm, removed the see from that village to the town of Thetford; and, the following year, declared his intentions of finally establishing it in Bury. This threatened invasion of their immunities and privileges alarmed the monks, and roused an immediate and energetic opposition to the measures of the Bishop.

Baldwin, the Abbot, having long enjoyed the favour and protection of King William the Conqueror, appealed to the authority of that monarch; and, by his Majesty's advice and assistance, undertook a journey to Rome, to implore the protection of the Pope.

This being the first opportunity afforded to the Roman Pontiff of obtaining an influence in the domestic concerns of the monastery of Bury, it is not wonderful that the Abbot of so rich and extensive an establishment should be received with a marked and peculiar attention from that judicious court.

Baldwin was entertained by the Pope, Alexander the Second, with distinguished honour and veneration; and obtained from his holiness a confirmation and extension of privileges, to the glory and praise of the blessed King and martyr, St. Edmund †.

The Pope advanced him to the rank of Presbyter, and ennobled him with honourable dignities beyond other Abbots; gave him a

* Godwin de Præsul. p. 426.

† Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 288. ex Marian. Scot. Bibl. Bodleian. Regist. Rub. Collect. Buriens. p. 330. Batteley, p. 46 and 142. Blomefield, vol. II. p. 13.

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek München

pastoral staff and ring; delegated to him the cure of souls; and presented to him a most precious porphyry altar *, solemnly consecrated by himself, and dedicated to the honour of St. Mary and St. Edmund; with this express privilege: "That if the whole king-"dom of England should, on account of a general excommuni-"cation, cease from performing religious offices, as long as this "altar is preserved whole and undefiled, ye shall never cease to "celebrate the sacred solemnity of mass, on any prohibition, unless "the Pope shall interdict it expressly by name."

The bull, issued upon this occasion by Alexander the Second, appears to be the first papal confirmation obtained by the monks of Bury. It was dated at the Lateran, 6 Kalend. Novemb. A. D. 1071; and confirms, in the fullest manner, the exemption of the monastery from episcopal authority and jurisdiction; and enjoins that no person whatever should convert the Convent into an episcopal see.

The return of the Abbot, thus armed and defended by apostolic authority, did but inflame the mind of the prelate to further exertions; and he determined to employ the persuasive eloquence of one hundred marcs of gold. The monks, on the other hand, had recourse to the bold attempt of trying, even on an ecclesiastic, their favourite, and often successful weapon, supernatural agency.

* This altar was carefully preserved among the relics, and inscribed with these verses:

Altaris mensam cum reliquiis bene comptam
Dat, sacrat hanc nobis Baldwino Pater orbis,
Pontificum Sydus Alexanderque Secundus.

Batteley, p. 48. Cole's MS. &c.

Archdeacon

Archdeacon Herman, who himself bore a part, has written an account of this transaction; and states, that as one day the Bishop was riding and conversing on the injuries he meditated against the monastery, a branch struck his eyes, and a violent and painful suffusion of blood occasioned immediate blindness; St. Edmund thus avenging himself, and punishing the temerity of the invader of his rights. The prelate remained long entirely blind, and could obtain no relief. "Coming in one morning, and commiserating his "condition, I said to him: 'My Lord Bishop, your endeavours 'are useless, no collirium will avail; you should seek the favour 'of God and St. Edmund. Hasten to Abbot Baldwin, that his 'prayers to God and St. Edmund may provide an efficacious me-'dicine.' "This council, at first despised, was at length assented "to. I Herman undertook the embassy, and executed it on the "same day, the festival of St. Simon and St. Jude. The Abbot be-"nignantly granted the request; and the feeble Bishop came to the "monastery, being graciously received by the Abbot, and admo-"nished by him to reflect, that as offences againt God and St. "Edmund were diminished, the medicine to be applied would more "certainly alleviate his sufferings.

"They proceeded into the church, where, in the presence of the "Elder Brethren, and certain Peers of the realm, Hugo de Mont-"fort, Roger Bigot, Richard the son of Gilbert, &c. &c. the Bishop "declared the cause of his misfortune; recites the injuries he had "conceived against this holy place; confesses himself culpable; con-"demns under an anethema his advisers; and binds himself by a "vow to reject such councils. He then advances, with sighs and "tears, to the foot of the altar; replaces on it the pastoral staff; "prostrates himself before God and St. Edmund; performs his de-"votions, and receives absolution from the Abbot and Brethren.

" Then having made trial of the Abbot's medicine, and, as I saw, " by the application of cauteries and colliriums, assisted by the " prayers of the brethren, in a short time he returned perfectly " healed; only a small obscurity remained in the pupil of one eye, " as a memorial of his audacity *."

This exertion of the Abbot's medical skill was not more successful than the papal injunction. The Bishop, forgetful of his professions and promises, again renewed the contest, and continued it for several years. Nor was it terminated till King William convoked a council at Winchester, A. D. 1081, in which the subject was fully discussed, and the event was auspicious for the monastery; the determination of this august assembly having given a complete and entire victory to the Abbot.

This important decision is strongly expressed in the royal charters, issued upon this occasion by King William; one of which, as affording a distinct and particular account of the discussion, is here given at length.

A. D. 1081, on the final arrangement of the pleadings, calumnies, and complaints, which Arfast, the Bishop, brought against Abbot Baldwin, concerning the church of St. Edmund, and the town in which the holy Martyr rests, on the 31st of May, at Winchester, before the King and the Nobles of the realm, King William granted to Edmund, the glorious King and Martyr, this privilege:

" William, King of England, &c. &c. to the Archbishops, Bishops, " Abbots, Earls, and others, our faithful subjects. As we believe

* Regist. Rub. Collect. Buriens. p. 330. &c.

" that

"that we have been advanced by the mercy of God to the "supreme power of this kingdom, it becometh us vigilantly to "regard the permanent prosperity of the people subject to us; "and chiefly of those who, in the service of the Lord, labour ear- "nestly *(desudant)* day and night.

"Therefore we make known to the present and future faith- "ful subjects of our kingdom, that Bishop Arfast hath referred "it to us and many others, whether the church of the blessed Ed- "mund, in which that venerable King and Martyr, his body being "uncorrupted *(incorrupto corpore)*, waits for the day of a blessed "resurrection, ought to be his episcopal see; whence the greatest "altercation hath, for a long time, existed between Baldwin, the "Abbot of that church, and the Bishop.

"By the advice of our Archbishops, &c. &c. we have thought "proper that the claims of both, respecting these matters, should "be discussed in our court. When on the day appointed they "appeared before us, the Bishop supported his cause with suffi- "cient eloquence, but was altogether destitute of writings and "proofs: the Abbot, on the contrary, shewed how King Canute, "with the general advice of his Archbishops, Bishops, and Nobles, "had ejected from the aforesaid church the Presbyters who lived "inordinately, and there placed monks. And that afterwards, by "the command of the same King, Ailnod, Archbishop of Can- "terbury, dedicated that church; and that the Bishop of London "consecrated the first Abbot of that place; the Bishop of Win- "chester the second; and the Archbishop of Canterbury the third, "who was Baldwin himself.

"And

" And he hath regularly and distinctly narrated, that, during " fifty-three years, without interruption from any predecessor of " the said Arfast, the monks had received holy orders from any " Bishops they pleased.

" And, lastly, he exhibited his charters *(precepta)*, *viz.* of King " Canute, and of the most glorious King Edward, in which these " Kings themselves have conceded, that this often-named church " shall be for ever entirely free from all dominion of all Bishops " of that county.

" Because Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas, Arch- " bishop of York; Odo, my brother, Bishop of Baieux and Earl of " Kent; with many other Bishops; and Robert, my son, with the " rest of the Princes of our realm who were present to hear the " cause, have judged that the authority of such a place ought " to remain inviolate to the end of time; to whose irrefutable " decision, as it was just, I have assented, and given my con- " currence.

" It is also our pleasure, with the advice of our Archbishops, &c. " &c. and on account of the worthy petition of Abbot Baldwin, " who hath humbly requested our serenity to confirm by our " charter *(precepto)* the charters *(precepta)* of our ancestors, Kings " of England, *viz.* of Edmund, Canute, Hardicanute, and the il- " lustrious Edward, by the relationship and gift of whom, through " the mercy of the Lord, we are heir to the kingdom, which " they have already granted to this often-named church; and " from which it appears, that this church, and the town in which " this church stands, should be free, through all ages, from the

" jurisdiction

"jurisdiction of Bishop Arfast, and of all succeeding Bishops. "And that this decree *(auctoritas)*, concerning that holy place, "may remain inviolate, and for ever firm, in our and all fu- "ture ages, we have determined to establish this charter by the "subscription of our hand, and to confirm it by the impression of "our seal.

"✠ I William, by the grace of God, King of England, have "commanded this charter to be written; and, in confirmation, "have sealed the writing with the sign of the Lord's Cross.

"✠ I Queen Matilda have confirmed it."

(The signatures and crosses of two Archbishops, and thirteen Bishops, are followed by those of the King's three sons, Robert, William, and Henry; and by those of twenty others of Abbots and Nobles.)

"Given the 31st of May, in the 15th year of the reign of "the glorious King William, A. D. 1081, indiction 4. Done at "Winchester, in the royal palace, happily in the name of God. "Amen *."

The pacification resulting from the charter of King William was not of long continuance. The favourite project of Herfastus was

* Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 289, ex Mariani Scoti MS. Bibl. Bodleianâ, vol. III. 7. Jur. Martin's Thetford, p. 33, &c. Regist. Album, f. 36, &c. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 328.

Another charter of King William to the same effect, but much shorter, and more condensed, in Batteley, p. 146, from Regist. Sanct. f. 24.

revived

revived by a succeeding Bishop, and the monks again found themselves assailed by a strenuous opponent, and compelled to a vigorous contest in defence of their ecclesiastical immunities.

On account of the differences between King Henry the First *, and Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, Herbert Losinga, Bishop of Hulm, went to Rome, A. D. 1101, and endeavoured to avail himself of the advantageous opportunity afforded by a residence at the holy see, to recover to his own diocese the episcopal authority and jurisdiction over the monastery of Bury; but an accident deprived the Bishop of his essential and eloquent advocate. Being imprisoned by Guy of Lyons, he was reduccd to the necessity of purchasing his release by the payment of forty marks. This money the Bishop had purposed to have employed at the court of Rome, in support of his claims upon the convent of Bury; but having thus lost his auxiliary force, the contest terminated against him; and the monks remained masters of the field. This attack upon the monastery having proved unsuccessful, the Bishop had recourse to the more temperate measure of negotiation. On his return from Rome he came to Bury †, and having made the Abbot and Convent acquainted with his intention of removing the see from Thetford to Norwich, he requested their assistance to enable him to erect in that city a magnificent cathedral, as the mother church of the diocese; and observing that the monasterial church of St. Edmund was nearly compleated, he desired the Convent to *lend* him their annual *carucatage, carrucagium,* or *carvage,* towards defraying the expence, and that he might be permitted to hold it till his building was finished. The

* Blomefield, Norfork, vol. II. p. 333.

† Regist. Alb. f. 32. Regist. Curteys, f. 518.

Registers

Registers say this request was "incautiously" complied with; except that within the liberty of St. Edmund, the hundred of Stowe in Suffolk, and the deanery of Bilihowe in Norfolk, which was reserved to finish their own church at Bury.

The carvage of Stowe and Bilihowe were farmed by the Sacrist of Norwich, at an annual rent of ten shillings; and the Sacrist of Bury sent yearly a bull as a present; but, upon this being discontinued, the Sacrist of Norwich refused to pay the rent; and thus withheld the carvage of those two districts.

When the cathedral at Norwich was compleated, the Bishop refused to fulfil the promises by which he stood engaged to the monks of Bury. Instead of returning the annual carvage to the monastery, he affixed it to the see of Norwich, as a part of the episcopal revenue.

Notwithstanding this account of the monkish writers, it has, with probability, been supposed, that the carvage was actually given to the Bishop as a compromise, and to encourage him to persevere in the plan of fixing his see at Norwich *. From Domesday Book it appears, that King William gave to Herfast fourteen mansions at Norwich for the principal seat of the Bishoprick; which seems to imply, that the intention of constituting that city the head of the diocese did not originate with Herbert. The ample endowments of St. Edmund's monastery occasioned a delay in the execution of this transfer of the episcopal seat. By enabling Herbert to build his cathedral at Norwich, the see was

* Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 13 and 333.

finally established there; and the monks of Bury were relieved from the apprehension of any future claims similar to those that had occasioned them so much cost and anxiety.

The beneficial effect of these arrangements appear in the long course of subsequent peace and harmony that subsisted between the Bishops and Abbots; an instance of which may be selected in the conduct of Thomas de Blundevilla *, who governed the diocese of Norwich from A. D. 1226 to 1236.

This prelate, being present at the celebration of the splendid feast held at the Convent of Bury, on St. Edmund's day, that he might not appear to infringe upon the exemption of the monastery from episcopal jurisdiction, permitted the Abbot, in the hood belonging to the secular clergy, to pronounce the blessing after evening service †.

Another Bishop found that refuge and protection in the monastic privileges of Bury which his own authority could not afford him. When the Barons, on the 16th of December, A. D. 1266, sacked and plundered Norwich, Roger de Skerning, the Bishop, fled to Bury, and was preserved in safety; the Barons, from the respect and veneration they bore St. Edmund, not presuming to infringe the liberties of his monastery ‡.

* Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 430.

† Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 343.

‡ Ibidem, II. p. 350.

Robert,

Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 6th of November, 1296, made a declaration, in the presence of a notary public and other witnesses, that, by his entry into the town and monastery of St. Edmund, and by his stay there to attend his duty in parliament, it was not his intention to make any infringement upon the privileges and immunities of the Abbot and Convent* .

Although the question respecting the placing the episcopal see at Bury was laid at rest, another productive of considerable agitation arose between the Convent and the Bishop of the diocese, on the subject of episcopal visitation. The Abbot and Monastery claimed an absolute exemption in consequence of their grants and charters. A bull of Calixtus the Third in the time of Abbot Sampson, confirmed their exemption from visitation, excepting that of a Legate à latere †.

About 1248, Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, was desirous of subjecting the monastery to visitation; but was forbid by a bull of Innocent the Fourth ‡.

In the year 1345 a contention on this subject of great violence and outrage was commenced. William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, claimed a jurisdiction as diocesan over the Abbot and Monastery of *St. Edmund's Bury;* and endeavoured to establish a right of subjecting the convent to episcopal visitation. The Abbot strenuously resisted this claim, and pleaded his chartered rights of unreserved exemption from all episcopal authority and jurisdiction.

* Collect. Buriens. † Ibidem.

‡ Batteley, p. 97 and 159.

The discussion was conducted on both sides with the utmost asperity.

King Edward the Third, by letters patent, dated the 6th of August, 1346, determined in favour of the Abbey and Convent; confirmed the former charters of exemption granted by Edmund, Canute, Hardicanute, St. Edmund, &c.; and commanded the Bishop to desist from any attempt to infringe the privileges of the monastery.

The royal prohibition was served upon the Bishop by Richard Freysel, the Abbot's attorney, who, in discharging this office, conducted himself with much insolence, and treated the Bishop with great indignity. The irritated Bishop disregarded the mandate, and excommunicated the messenger.

The Abbot then appealed to the justice of his country, and sought relief and protection from the courts of law. In stating his case, he set forth, that, contrary to the chartered privileges granted by many Kings of England, confirmed by divers Popes, Archbishops of Canterbury, and preceding Bishops of that diocese, the present Bishop of Norwich had cited him to appear at his ordinary episcopal visitation; and, notwithstanding his right of exemption, and in defiance of the royal mandate, had continued his prosecutions against him for non-appearance. The Bishop answered, that his proceedings were not to the detriment of the crown, as he instituted and continued his suits against the Abbot in regard to spirituals only.

The jury returned a verdict for the Abbot, that the Bishop had incurred a præmunire, and subjected himself to the penalty of

thirty

thirty talents of gold under the charter of Hardicanute*. A writ was issued to the sheriffs to seize the temporalities of the Bishoprick till the fine was paid into the Exchequer. John de Lincoln, his Majesty's Attorney General, moved an enquiry to ascertain the value of the thirty talents of gold; which was fixed at 10,000*l.*†; and the Bishop accordingly amerced in that penal sum.

Freysel brought an action against the Bishop and several of his clergy, for excommunicating him, and recovered 1000 marks damages. This sum not being immediately paid, one of the clerks, Master James, rector of Wrabnege, was imprisoned at Bury; and the rest concealed themselves, or fled the kingdom, till the Bishop should pay the money.

In subsequent proceedings the judgment against the Bishop was affirmed; but he resolutely continued the contest, and moved a writ of error. Although his temporalities were decreed to be held in the King's hands till the fine was paid, and Freysel absolved, and a day affixed to seize his body in case of non-compliance, it does not appear that the conviction was ever carried into effect. The Bishop found means of delay; and fixed day after day, till the 25th of September, 1347, when the Archbishop summoned a Council at St. Paul's, before which the Bishop of Norwich stated his case; and a final agreement was at length concluded between the contending parties; which is said to have been preserved in the vestiary of the monastery; but, as it was not recorded in the Registers, we may suppose it was not so entirely to the satisfaction of the monks as they expected.

* See page 74.

† Regist. Rub. says "tria millia librarum *viz.* pro quolibet talento centum "libræ."

The

The monk who compiled the Registrum Rubrum observes, that the Bishop's conviction did not arise wholly from the power of the King, or the exertion of human wisdom, but from the support and assistance of the Glorious King and Martyr St. Edmund. For he relates that, on a certain night previous to the Bishop's condemnation, William de Hengham, a monk of a devout and religious life, having charge of the shrine of St. Edmund, was sleeping upon a bench *(super bancum)* to the right of the high altar; and in a vision saw the Royal Saint rise from his tomb, cloathed in royal robes, crowned and armed, and go towards the chapel of Relics, where Ailwin, formerly his Chamberlain, respectfully presented him his own sword, drawn from the scabbard; which the Blessed Edmund received from the monk's hand with an animated placid countenance, and proceeded through the church, the doors opening to him with a great noise, but without any human assistance.

The monk was much terrified at this, fearing that an old prophecy was now compleated, *viz.* "Postquam tertio Beatus "Edmundus cornu suum flaverit, relinquens Breodriceworth rediret "ad Hoxne, ubi martyrizatus occubuit;" but, in a very little time, his apprehensions subsided, and his mind received comfort; for he saw the Blessed Edmund return by the same way and manner in which he had gone out, and deliver again his sword, now covered with blood, to the monk; who cleansed it from the blood, returned it into the scabbard, and, replacing it in the chapel of Relics, disappeared. The Blessed Edmund replaced himself in the shrine in his accustomed manner.

After three days the information arrived that the Bishop had been convicted; and when it appeared that this event happened the very day

day after the monk had seen the vision, the Blessed Martyr's interference could no longer be doubted.

The Bishop engaged not to molest or interrupt the immunities of the monastery; and, upon this, received again his ecclesiastical power and temporalities. Soon after, confiding in his wisdom, or, perhaps, more in his treasury, he undertook a journey to Rome; as it was supposed, not so much on the King's business, as to persecute the convent of St. Edmund. He made his entry with great pomp, and was very favourably received; but a few days after his arrival at the Sovereign Pontiff's court, he expired suddenly, exclaiming with his latest breath — *Bury, Bury, Saint Edmund, Saint Edmund* — as is witnessed by many at the Roman court. Thus, saith the author, does the Blessed Saint and Martyr always obtain victory and triumph over all his enemies; and from this, and other notable instances, cautions all men, upon peril of supernatural vengeance, not to persecute or injure the church of St. Edmund.

From documents more to be relied on, it appears that the Bishop was sent by the King, with Henry Duke of Lancaster, to the Pope, to acquaint him, that the kingdom of France being fallen to him by hereditary right, he intended to recover it by force and arms; but desired to satisfy him *(his Holyness)* as to his title before he began.

The Bishop fell sick, and died at Avignon, Jan. 6, A. D. 1354, about three in the afternoon; and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Martin's, near the Apostolic Palace *.

A. D.

* Rott. Norfolk, 114. Placita coram Rege, Term. Mich. 19 Edw. III. Term. Pasch. 20 Edw. III. Rot. 97, Term. Trin. 21 Edw. III. Rot. 26. Regist. Curteys, f. 232.

Regist.

A. D. 1400, 2 Henry IV. Thomas de Arundell, archbishop of Canterbury, visited the dioceses of Ely and Norwich.

On the 1st of October, about noon, his attendants arrived at *St. Edmund's Bury,* to prepare for his lordship's reception.

The Abbot and Convent were much astonished and alarmed, it being considered an infringement of their exclusive privileges. They assembled in full chapter; and much debate ensued, in what manner he should be received without violating the exemptions granted by many Kings and Archbishops to this monastery. To receive him with the solemn procession might seem to allow his visitation; it was therefore determined, that every possible mark of respect should be paid him, but without that ceremony. The Abbot, the Sacrist, the Cellerarius, and some other officers, met the Archbishop between Thetford and Ingham; and conducted him through the cœmetery into the church, the gates of which were shut,

Regist. Alb. f. 4. 7. Regist. Rub. Collect. Buriens. 333. 342. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 360, 361. 364. Godwin de Præsul. p. 435. In Bibl. Collect. Corpi Christ. Cant. 9. 6. cui Tit. Wm. Bateman Epis. Norw. visitatio prioris & capituli Norw. ejus injunctiones. De calumniis per Wm. Bateman Epis. Norw. in Monas. S. Ed. illatis & per merita S. Ed. finitis, una cum gravaminibus Monasterii S. Ed.

The whole is also related Regist. Curteys, f. 232, in most vehement invective againt the Bishop.

Nota, &c. &c. Wm. Bate, &c.

Zelator Sauli non Pauli, indignè ferens lib. Mon. S. Ed. ipsas multipliciter visus est inpugnare, & quasi alter Suanus dummodo sibi subjugari, quod non debuit, desideravit, Lancea Edmundi, *viz.* posita pena contra impugnantes lib. & immunitates S. Ed. Letaliter perfossus miserabiter succubuit, sibi ac omnibus successoribus in obprobrium semperternum prout per inferias descripta luculenter patere potuit cuilibet intuenti, &c.

as

as it was not the *solemn* procession. The Prior and Convent without procession, *aut companorum pulsatione,* met them in the nave of the church. After mutual salutations they advanced into the choir, and to the shrine of St. Edmund, the decorations of which the Archbishop much admired. Then taking refreshments at the Abbot's Palace, returned to the church; and remained there during the service of vespers.

The next day being Sunday, the Archbishop heard two masses in the chapel of Relics *(reliquiarum).* Himself celebrated a third; afterwards heard two more; and then made his oblation at the shrine of the Royal Martyr.

Afterwards passing through the great *cæmeterium in capellam sanctæ Andreæ,* then into the vineyard, and so returning through the whole infirmary, visited the hall and chamber of the Prior; then passing though the cloisters, he came to the refectory; and so, about eleven o'clock, he entered the palace, where the Lord Abbot sumptuously entertained him, the Earl of Suffolk, and attendants. The Clergy and Squires of the Bishop declared, that during the whole of the visitation they had not before been entertained in so honourable and splendid a manner. Afterwards the Abbot, Duke of Suffolk, Lord Moubray, Prior, Sacrist, Cellerarius, and a great multitude of people, attended him to Rysby, on his road to Newmarket *.

Thomas de la More, Abbot of St. Alban's, by order of King Edward III. and the Prince, " visited the principal monastery of the " whole kingdom, that of St. *Edmund de Bury,* where he found all

* Regist. Rub. Bibl. Collect. Buriens. 315, 316, &c.

" quite obedient; and, on this, he forbore to make a strict visita-
" tion; but directed the Prior, Henry Bybsteed, to execute what
" he advised and thought needful *."

Obedient here most probably does not mean obedience to the visitation, but obedience to the rule of their Order; and it is possible that this forbearance of the Abbot of St. Alban's might arise from the resistance of the Abbot and Monks of Bury.

The Convent was obliged to receive a visitor, when deputed either by the Pope, or *præsidente capitulo generali* †. And accordingly A. D. 1414, the Abbot of Hulm was, in a general chapter held at Northampton, deputed to the office of visiting the monastery of *St. Edmund's Bury*; and the discussions on the subject appear to have been frequently excited, but never brought to a full and determinate decision ‡.

During the long visit of King Henry VI. to the monastery A. D. 1433 and 1434, some misunderstanding seems to have arisen between the Abbot, and William Alnwyke, the Bishop of Norwich, at that time Confessor to the King. Most probably the Abbot, claiming upon all occasions the privileges and exemptions of his monastery, might neglect those submissions and attentions to episcopal authority and power, which the prelate was accustomed to receive. Whatever might have been the cause of the dissension, in the following year it proceeded in the manner that had always, on former occasions, produced a strenuous and public contest.

* Newcome, St. Alban's, p. 249.

† Cole's MS. vol. XLV. p. 64.

‡ Collect. Buriens.

Although

Although the Bishop might feel a confidence in the influence which his character and situation gave him over the mind of his royal master, yet he could not but consider with attention the consequences of his predecessors' attempts in the same cause; he therefore proceeded with caution. The parliament having granted an aid to his Majesty from all ecclesiastical revenues, the Bishop directed his commission to Clement Chark, alias Denston, Archdeacon of Sudbury, commanding him to collect this tax from the clergy of Bury, in the same manner as from the other parts of the diocese.

As no officers were permitted to act within the Abbot's jurisdiction, but those appointed by himself, this order of the Bishop's was assuming an authority over the Abbot, and infringing the exemptions of the monastery.

The activity and energy of the monks compleatly frustrated this insiduous attack.

John Cranewys, Sacrist of the monastery, and Archdeacon of the Abbot's exempt jurisdiction, collected the tax, and made the return into his Majesty's exchequer.

The contention was long continued; and the attachment of the Archdeacon of Sudbury to the cause of the Bishop has subjected him to much acrimonious virulence from the monk who has recorded the transaction.

About the same time, Nicholas Bagot, Rector of Icklingham St. James, resisted some exertion of the Abbot's authority; and was supported in his resistance by the Bishop

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Bangor and Winchester, with some other proper persons, were at length commissioned to investigate the whole business; and, after having heard all the parties, gave their opinion in favour of the Abbot; and thus confirmed the privileges of the monastery. The Bishop, the Archdeacon, and the Rector, were compelled to submit; and the King interposed his royal authority, and commanded, by Simon de Islip, keeper of the privy seal, that this unholy and disgraceful contest should be finally terminated by the Bishop and Abbot mutually giving and receiving a kiss of peace *.

* Regist. Curteys, 110. 175. 187. 189. 208. 224, &c. Blomefield, vol. II. p. 377 and 468.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION IV.

FRATRES MINORES, OR GREY FRIARS.

Rivals to the Benedictines — Founder — Rule — Names — Plates Fifth and Sixth — arrive at Bury — expelled by the Monks — reinstated by the Pope — Richard Earl of Gloucester — Henry the Third, and Nobility — Urban the Fourth — finally expelled — Babbewell — Friary.

THE appearance in Bury of a rival religious Order called into exertion all the energy and activity of the Benedictine monks; and afforded a remarkable instance of the determined and persevering tenacity with which they endeavoured to maintain the exclusive and peculiar rights and customs of their establishment.

This was, perhaps, the most memorable contest in which the Abbot and Convent were engaged.

In

In defence of their exemptions and privileges they resolutely withstood the authority of a royal command, and both the intreaties and threats of a numerous body of the nobility of the realm, when employed in behalf of rival claimants to popular fame, who had, in several parts of the continent and of England, proved themselves successful candidates for the respect and protection of the unsuspecting and often deluded multitude.

The *Fratres Minores,* Grey Friars, Franciscans, or Mendicant Friars *, had their origin from St. Francis of Assisium, a city of Italy. This Seraphical Father, as he is commonly called, was born of wealthy parents, A. D. 1182; but abandoning the world, he devoted himself to a life of religious austerity.

He formed a rule, containing not only the three vows of obedience, chastity and poverty, which are essential to the rules of all religious orders, but also several further restrictions and severities; as to live without obtaining any settled property in house, place, or thing, as strangers and pilgrims in this world. He would have his followers called minors, from the humility, meekness, and entire denial of temporal interest, which his prescript required.

They were termed Mendicants, from possessing willing poverty, and subsisting upon alms, which they begged from door to door.

They were also called Grey Friars from their habits, which was a loose grey garment down to their heels, and a cowl or hood,

* Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 568.

with

with a cord or rope about their loins, instead of a girdle. The fifth and sixth Plates give a representation of one of these friars fully cloathed, and of another without his mantle. They preached with great success in many nations; and, in 1209, the order was established by Pope Innocent the Third.

The distinguishing characteristic of this Order being not to possess, or make any property their own, but to maintain themselves partly by the labour of their hands, and partly by mendicity, they soon after their establishment obtained a very considerable degree of popularity; and received very plentiful alms and donations on account of their pretended austerities *.

During the vacancy in the abbacy, after the death of Abbot Edmund de Walpoole, some brethren of this Order came to Bury about the end of 1255, or beginning of 1256 †, where they remained some time without any settled habitation; but, at length, having obtained a grant from Pope Alexander the Second, permitting them to occupy any land they might be able to obtain, relying upon this authority, they procured a situation in the North part of the town, and immediately presumed, during the night, and in an unconsecrated place, to perform divine service, and celebrate a solemn mass.

The monks, astonished at this intrusion, were much troubled; and the more so, as the church having lately lost its Abbot was destitute of the advice and assistance of a Pastor. Some of the officers of the monastery undertook to admonish the brethren;

* Matth. Paris, p. 286. Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, vol. VII. p. 4. Morant, Essex, vol. I. p. 151, 152.

† Collect. Buriens. says A. D. 1251.

but

but this failing of the desired effect, the dependants of the monks proceeded to demolish the buildings, and expelled the friars from the town.

They applied to the court of Rome for redress; and the Sovereign Pontiff, Alexander the Fourth, reproved the monks, and ordered the *Fratres Minores* to be put in possession of an estate in the West part of *St. Edmund's Bury*.

The agents of the Pope, on meeting the monks in their chapter, endeavour, but in vain, to prevail on them to admit the friars. They adjourn to the parish church of St. Mary; and, after a long sitting and much altercation, they proceed to the aforesaid estates; and the papal agent, pulling up a little twig, invests the friars with the possession of the premises.

The monks not assenting to this act of delegated authority, both parties mutually harrassed each other by vexatious proceedings at law.

The friars were supported in this act of intrusion by Richard Earl of Gloster *, the determined enemy of the monastery of Bury, by Gilbert de Preston, and other laics; and, at length, obtained the protection of King Henry the Third. He wrote in behalf of the friars to the Abbot and Convent; and the Queen, Prince Edward, and many of the Nobility supported the same cause, both by entreaties and threatenings. But the monks continuing firm; the King sends his Chief Justice to Bury; and, by an exertion of the royal authority, places the friars in possession of the aforesaid land on the eve of the translation of St. Edmund, A. D. 1256.

* Matth. Paris.

They

They immediately commenced constructing suitable religious edifices, and retained their possession six years.

Matthew Paris observes, that it was a matter of general surprise such holy men, who had voluntarily chosen a life of poverty, should, in despite of the fear of God and of the revered Martyr, and in disparagement of the peace and privileges of others, violently disturb a noble church of acknowledged dignity and antiquity.

On the decease of Pope Alexander, and the succession of Urban the Fourth, the monks renewed their application to the see of Rome; and backing their transalpine labour by a judicious application and sufficient supplies of that argument which in general ultimately prevailed at the papal court, Urban revoked the bulls of his predecessor, and peremptorily commanded the buildings of the friars to be demolished, upon pain of ecclesiastical censure, suspension, and excommunication; and that they should, within one month, leave the town and jurisdiction of Bury.

The friars, after some further but ineffectual struggles, finding that the victory of the monks was decisive, eluded, in some degree, the force of the disappointment, by a prudent and timely submission. They deputed certain discreet brethren, who, in presence of the Abbot and the whole convent, on the vigil of the Passion of St. Edmund, A. D. 1263, publicly renounced all right and title to their estate in Bury *.

Peace being thus restored, the Abbot and Convent freely granted them a part of the monastic possessions, called Babbewell †, with-

* Matth. Paris, edit. Lond. 1684, p. 830. 832. 845. Batteley, p. 102 to 113. Regist. Worketone. Tanner, Notit. Monast.

† Molendinum de Babbewell is mentioned, A. D. 1161. Collect. Buriens.

out the bounds and jurisdiction of the town. The friars here erected some handsome edifices, and continued an establishment till the dissolution.

Sir John Cullum observes *, that although the monks every where held these friars in abhorrence, they were great favourites with the people in general; for, in turning over a multitude of wills, I observe they had frequent legacies left them.

The site of this religious house was granted, 33 Henry VIII. to Anthony Hervy; and is still called the Friary, and a part of the premises the Toll Gate.

* Cullum's Hawsted, p. 17.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION V.

CONTESTS WITH TOWNSMEN.

Authority of the Abbot resisted by Burgesses — Guild or Corporation — De Janitoribus — Right of chusing the Alderman — Alderman does Homage — Abbot's Charges against the Burgesses — Great Conflict — Commissions and Writs — Monastery plundered — Manors burnt — Riot suppressed — Damages — Decree of Decision — Abbot's Lenity — Cruelly treated — Returns to Bury — Wat Tyler — Sir John Cavendish — Sir John Cambridge — Monastery plundered — Spencer, Bishop of Norwich.

THE supreme authority that the Abbot exercised over the town and all its inhabitants, was a frequent cause of dissatisfaction to the chief Burgesses; and the repeated struggles they made to exonerate themselves from his jurisdiction, and to take the civil government of the town more fully into their own hands, were the occasion of much destructive mischief to the convent.

Some of the Abbots had, by grants to the townsmen, conceded, from time to time, several privileges to them; and they appear to have been desirous, upon the authority of these grants, to form themselves into an independent Guild or Corporation; for, in a contest between the Townsmen and Abbot Sampson *, who took the government of the monastery A. D. 1182, the townsmen, in their pleading, made use of an expression — " à tempore quo villa " Sancti Edmundi nomen & libertatem burgi accepit;" which seems to throw considerable light upon the subject, and enables us to ascertain the object of contention to have been the attempt of the burgesses to act as a corporate body, without being controled in the determination of that body by the authority of the Abbot. It does not however appear that this " liberty of a Borough or Corporation" was granted by any royal charter; but only by concession and grants from the Abbots as supreme Lords of the town. And though the townsmen pretended to hold a Guild-hall, and act as a corporation in governing the town; yet the justices and the juries, upon all inquisitions, decided in favour of the Abbot, and decreed the assemblies of the burgesses to be but conventicles.

In the 28th year of Henry the Third †, A. D. 1264, an association of some of the younger and less discreet burgesses, calling themselves a Guild, occasioned so much dissension respecting the keepers of the town gates *(de janitoribus)*, that the Abbot applied for redress to the King, who granted a writ of enquiry upon the occasion; but some of the elder and more discreet townsmen, apprehending that the event of this action might prove injurious to those liberties they already enjoyed under the monastery, deputed certain of their own

* Regist. Joceline de Brockland, f. 117 and 149. Wanley's Notes.

† Batteley, p. 113 and 159. Regist. W. Pynchbeck.

body

body to entreat the Abbot to desist from the prosecution; and that he would appoint proper judges; or would himself, either in a civil or ecclesiastical court, enquire into all the injuries the convent had received; that whoever were found to be guilty, should make a competent satisfaction; which, if they refused to do, their goods and chattels should be distrained. And more especially the Guild should be annulled; and all who refused to comply with these terms should be expelled the town.

Upon the inquisition being held, it was found that the burgesses had shut the North gate against the Abbot; and the South gate against the Sacrist and Cellerarius; that they had made an assault upon the great gate of the abbey; that they had broken the gate of the church-yard; that they had pursued the servants of the monks even to the altar; and formed themselves into a Guild contrary to ancient custom. The Guild, therefore, was decreed to be dissolved; and, in consideration of the grievances complained of by the Abbot, forty pounds of silver should be paid to him; the Abbot reserving the liberty of proceeding against any of the offenders.

To insure the faithful performance of this decree, 24 of the senior Burgesses bound themselves and their heirs by a solemn oath, and by a written engagement under their seals.

Notwithstanding these concessions to the Abbot, the burgesses do not appear to have submitted to this authority with the cordiality that the terms of the agreement seem to imply. For, in the twentieth year of King Edward the First, A. D. 1292, we find the convent and the townsmen again involved in a dispute *, that appears

* Collect. Buriens. p. 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, &c.

pears to have been conducted with much asperity and animosity on both sides *.

The Abbot asserted his right to choose the Alderman of the town, and to appoint the keepers of the gates at his own pleasure; and to remove them by the same authority, and in the same manner. To this power the townsmen objected. The Abbot applied to the King to determine this point; and an inquisition was granted, to be holden at *St. Edmund's Bury* before his Majesty's Justices, John de Metingham, William de Gisilham, and H. de Cressingham. The patent is dated from Westminster, 2d of February, the twentienth year of his reign. But it does not appear that any arrangement was made in consequence of this grant; for, the year following, a second writ was issued for the same purpose, but joining John le Breboun and William de Redham in the commission with H. de Cressingham. Before these justices it was agreed by the contending parties, that the townsmen should every Michaelmas day appear before the Abbot, or, in his absence, the prior or chief officer of the convent, and request permission to elect an Alderman; that such permission should be immediately granted; and the townsmen, having made their election, should present the Alderman so chosen, to be by the Abbot admitted to the office; and that the Abbot should not

* Inquisitio capta apud Sanctum Edmundum, anno 1292, 20 Edward I. Cum ad Abbatem Sancti Edmundi dominium ejusdem villæ, et non ad alium, in omnibus pertineat, aldermannum et ballivos facere pro voluntate suâ, et eos amovere; burgenses quendam Johannem le Orfevere ballivum fecerunt, et quantum in eis est, aldermannum constituerunt, &c. Item cum custodia predictæ villæ ad Abbatem pertineat, tam portarum quàm rerum aliarum, burgenses nuper quendam Robertum de Wlpet assignatum per Abbatem ad portas australes custodiendas amoverunt, in læsionem liberatis, &c. Jurati dicunt, quod Johannes le Orfevere predictas transgressiones et injurias predicto abbati fecit, &c. 42 B. 8, fol. 15. 60 C. 9. voc. Bury. Wanley's Notes.

refuse

refuse to confirm such election, without assigning some reasonable and manifest cause of objection.

The Alderman, thus admitted, to take the usual oath, at the high altar, to preserve inviolate the rights and privileges of the Abbot and Convent.

At the same time some disputed points of less importance were determined. And it was also agreed, that, at the next "*Portmannemot*" after the admission of the Alderman, he should present to the Sacrist *, or his bailiff, four proper persons to be employed as keepers of the four gates, who should take an oath to perform in a proper manner the duties of the office. Upon these concessions from the Abbot and Convent, the townsmen undertook, for themselves, their heirs and successors, that they would be responsible to the Abbot for the proper discharge of these offices; and that they would in all things preserve inviolate the immunities of the monastery.

The East gate, or *Alclenegate*, to remain, according to ancient custom, in the sole custody of the Abbot †.

John de Hocwolde, Alderman of the town of *St. Edmund's Bury*, did homage for himself and the community of the said town to Thomas de Totingtone, the Lord Abbot, on the eve (20th of September) of St. Matthew the Apostle, A. D. 1302, in the Abbot's court at *St. Edmund's Bury*; and afterwards, with all the burgesses, made profession of allegiance according to ancient custom ‡.

* The Sacrist had a peculiar authority over the town. Vid. Chap. V. Art. Sacrist.

† Regist. Vesti. Walter de Pynchbeck. Collect. Buriens. p. 274—279, &c.

‡ Wanley's Notes.

Another

Another inquisition was held at *St. Edmund's Bury* under the royal commission *, directed to William de Bereford, William Howard, and William de Carletone, justices, die Lunæ, anno regni Regis Ed. filii Hen. 33, A. D. 1305.

Before this court seventeen charges were exhibited by the Abbot against the Alderman and Burgesses, for infringing the rights of the monastery by withholding fines, tolls, &c.; resisting the officers employed in distraining; throwing stones upon, and damaging, the roof of the church; stoning the workmen employed in repairing the same; beating the servants of the Abbey; interrupting *(vi et armis, scilicet, gladiis, arcubus, & sagittis, &c.)* the bailiff of the convent in the discharge of his office, &c. &c.

These charges being proved, the townsmen were fined and imprisoned; but appearing before the justices, and giving satisfaction to the Abbot, were discharged and liberated.

In making these pacific arrangements, the justices do not appear to have ascertained, or, at least, certainly did not remove, the exciting cause of the frequent contentions between the townsmen and the convent; for, in a little more than twenty years, the brand of discord, which had been in some degree smothered, but not extinguished, burst into a flame, far more extensive and destructive than had ever before been witnessed by the monastery.

In the first year of Edward the Third, A. D. 1327, the townsmen, led on by their Alderman and chief Burgesses, and having col-

* Regist. Walter Pynchbeck. Collect. Buriens. 283 — 293.

lected

lected a vast force from the neighbouring towns and villages, made three several attacks upon the monastery and its possessions.

The commissions, writs, and pleas *, issued upon this occasion, are numerous, as the Abbot and Convent appear to have instituted a number of distinct legal processes. To avoid irregularity and repetition, the substance of eleven commissions and writs is here given; most of them of the same date, but with some difference in the names of the monks injured; different names of culprits; and different assessments of damages.

His Majesty's Justices named in the writs and commissions, and before whom the inquisitions were held, are John de Stonore, Walter de Friskeneye, Robert de Malberthorpe, and John de Bouser. One addressed to them, and dated Friday after the feast of St. Lucia the Virgin, the first of Edward the Third, A. D. 1327, states, that Richard de Drayton, and many others, *vi et armis, viz. gladiis* (swords), *arcubus* (bows), *& sagittis* (arrows), *aketonibus* †, *hauberrionibus* (halberds), *& vaccinettis, platis, lanceis* (spears), *& gysarmis* (bill-hooks ‡), lately assembled together, *viz.* on the Wednesday after the Conversion of St. Paul (25 January) in the 1st year of the King's reign (1327), did, in a tumultuous and riotous manner, besiege the abbey; broke down the gates; destroyed the windows; beat and wounded the monks, with the servants and dependants of the monastery; broke, destroyed, or carried away, 20 chests or coffers, 30 *forciaria*, 40 *carulas*, &c. 3 golden chalices, 40 silver

* Walter de Pynchbeck. Collect. Buriens. folio, p. 292 — 310.

† Aketon, *sagus militare*, a soldier's coarse cloak.

‡ Spelman, Glossary.

chalices, 20 missals, 24 *portiforia*, 12 *bibulas*, 20 psalters, 10 journals, 7 *paria decretorum*, 10 *paria decretalium*, and many other books of science, 50 *capas chori* (caps or hoods*), 60 *albas cum amitis* (albs with amytts †), 30 *cassibulas* (chessables or casuble ‡), 30 *tunicals* (tunics §), 40 *dalmaticulas* (dalmaticas ‖), 20 *frontalia altarium* (front coverings for the altars), 40 *urciola*, 6 *thuribulas* or silver censers for frankincense, 4 basons *(aquaria)* 100 dishes, 100 salt-sellers, 10 silver vessels *(cupas argentea)*, 30 pots, 30 pans or plates, 20 *pocenettos*, 3 brass mortars, 20 empty casks, 20 *cuvas magnas* (great tubs or vats ¶), &c. with many other goods and chattels, valued at ten thousand pounds, *viz.* cloth of gold, silk, linen, woollen, ** *sellas & hernesias* (harness, furniture, implements), &c. five hundred pounds in money, and three thousand florins, &c. three charters of King Canute, four charters of Hardicanute, one charter of St. Edward the King (Edward the Confessor), two of

* Capa cum appendiciis—The largest garment for the Priest, with its tires, white girdle, sleeves, and other accoutrements. Staveley's History of Churches, 186, 187, 188, 189.

† Aubis, or Albs—a sort of white garments and proper head-cloaths for the Priest. The surplice or white sacerdotal vest not so plain and simple as the surplice of our Church, called also Camisia, Podaris, Talaris, Subercula, &c. Cowel.

‡ Casuble—a garment almost totally covering the Priest at Mass; hence probably came the Cassock.

§ Tunica—a garment for the Deacon assisting at Mass.

‖ Dalmatica—a long white garment for the Priest or Deacon, first used in Dalmatia. This was also much esteemed, and used at the coronation of kings.

¶ Cuva, Cowel says, is more proper than Spelman's Cuna, keeves, tubs, or vats.

** Perhaps seldas, shops, sheds, stalls, &c. Cowel.

Henry

Henry the First, two of Henry the Third, ten papal bulls of Alexander the Fourth, two bulls of Innocent the Third, with several deeds, written obligations, and acknowledgments for money due from some of the townsmen tothe convent; prevented the monastic officers from discharging their duties; interrupted the levying of fines, &c. &c.

Another commission and writs addressed to the same justices, and dated by the King himself, at Nottingham, the 1st of December, in the same year, state, that on Sunday the feast of St. Luke the Evangelist (18 October), A. D. 1327, John Berton lately Alderman, Robert Foxton, Richard Drayton, Alicia Lickdish, &c. (about 350 names in the MS.), with a vast multitude unknown, attacked and burnt the gates of the abbey, and all the apartments belonging to the Sacrist. The same night they plundered and burnt in Bury the manors called Holderness Barns, Aumeners *(almoners)* Barns, Haberdon, the granges without the south gate, and Westlee beyond the Crosses; with all their contents and corn, to the value of one thousand pounds.

The Monday following, they entered the court of the Abbey, and burnt all the North part, *viz.* the stables, the malt-house, the bake-houses, the granaries, with *domibus humonariæ* on the other part of the court.

The next day, Tuesday, they burnt Motchall, Bradefeldehall; the house of the *camerarius* and New-hall, with the apartments and *solariis* * adjoining; the chapel of Laurence at the strangers'

* Upper-rooms, chambers, or garrets. Cowel.

hall; and, at the same time, they burnt the manors of Heldhaw and Horningherth, with all the corn.

Wednesday following they set fire to the *solarium* (the upper chamber) of the *celerarius*, and the chapel belonging to it; as also to the kitchen, the larder, and part of the *firmaria* (infirmary).

On Thursday they destroyed the remainder of the infirmary; the black *hostellariam*; the chapel of St. Andrew in the *hostellaria* *; and the same day they burnt Fornham St. Martin's; and two manors in Great Barton, with all the corn.

During these outrages they insulted, beat, and wounded many of the monks and servants of the monastery. They seized and imprisoned, in a certain house in the town called "*Le Ledenehall*," Peter de Clopton, the prior, and about twenty of the monks; and afterwards taking them to their own chapter-house in the abbey, they compelled them, in the name of the whole chapter of the monastery, to execute, under the capitular seal of the convent, several deeds highly injurious to the rights and privileges of the monastery; particularly a deed, or grant, from the convent to the town of Bury, to constitute and continue the Burgesses a Guild or Corporation with a common seal; having the custody of the town gates, and wardship of all orphans; and also to bind themselves in a bond or obligation for the payment of ten thousand pounds to Oliver Kemp, and certain of the townsmen named in the said bond; to discharge them from all debts owing to the monastery; and to promise not to proceed against them at law for the recovery of any damages done to the monastery.

* A place or room allotted for the reception of guests or strangers.

Another

Another *commissio regia*, sums up these manors destroyed: Newton, Horningsherth, Westlee, Berton, Rysby, Ingham, Fornham St. Martin's, Fornham All Saints, Pakenham, Rougham, Cokefelde, Bradfeld, and Whepstede, and their corn; and lays the damages at twenty thousand pounds.

Also that they seized and drove away 100 horses, 120 oxen, 200 cows, 300 *boviculos*, 300 hogs, and 10,000 sheep, valued at six thousand pounds.

And burnt, destroyed, and carried off other goods and chattels of the monastery, worth fifteen thousand pounds.

A *placitum* of the same date states, that they burnt and destroyed halls, chambers, bake-house, malt-house, stables, infirmary, *hostelarium*, the chapel of St. Mary, the chapel of St. Laurence, the oratories of St. Edmund and St. John Baptist, in the abbey; and in the manors *Seldas*, *Shopos*, *Aulas*, *Grangia*, *Statellas*, *Boverias*, (ox-stalls), *Bercarias*, (sheep-folds), corn, barley, and oats; drove off oxen, horses, &c. and estimates the damages at a hundred thousand pounds.

The townsmen had collected together about 20,000 men and women *; and as the parochial clergy had generally a great antipathy to the monks, many of the curates and ministers of the towns and villages joined the rioters, and abetted the outrageous attacks upon the possessions of the monks.

* Collect. Buriens. from Fox, è Latino quodam Registro. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 57.

The

The Lord Abbot being at that time in London, on his application to the King, a military force was sent down to quell the riot. Twenty-four of the Aldermen and chief Burgesses were apprehended and imprisoned, thirty carts full of the rioters were taken prisoners to Norwich, and nineteen of the most notorious offenders were executed *. Thirty-two parochial clergymen were convicted as aiders and abettors †.

The inquiries and discussions that arose out of this violent and injurious affair ‡ appear to have occupied almost the five following years. The final decision was given in a decree, or *concordia*, between the Abbot and Convent on the one part, and the townsmen on the other part, by King Edward the Third and his council, on Thursday after the feast of the Holy Trinity, in the fifth year of his reign, A. D. 1332.

The justices awarded a hundred and forty thousand pounds damages; but at the request of the King himself, and for the sake of peace and harmony with the townsmen, the Abbot's tenants,

* Other accounts state that *twenty* were made examples by public execution. Collect. Buriens. and Cole's MS. vol. XLV. p. 30.

† Thirty-two *clerici* among the townsmen convicted of an assault upon the Abbey. Regist. Vesti. Collect. Buriens. The mutual hatred of the Seculars and Regulars was excessive. Cullum's Hawsted, p. 105.

‡ Blomefield, contrary to his general information, has given a very imperfect account of this attack on the monastery of Bury; he states the damage at 1000l. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 57.

Weever concludes his short and confused detail with this observation: "Many "more outrages recorded in the aforesaid Leiger Book of St. Edmund, which, to "relate, would seem incredible." Weever's Fun. Mon. 723.

and

and the parishioners, the Abbot and Convent remitted and pardoned the said offenders the sum of a hundred and twenty-two thousand three hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence, part of the aforesaid sum of a hundred and forty thousand pounds recovered as above; the said Richard Drayton, &c. to pay, within twenty years, two thousand marcs, in half yearly payments of fifty marcs each, at Michaelmas and Easter, and to be thereupon excused four thousand marcs, out of the seventeen thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence.

And, upon certain other conditions, the Abbot and Convent remit ten thousand pounds farther from the said remaining seventeen thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. And farther, the Abbot and Convent, upon condition the said townsmen, &c. shall no more complain or offend, agree to remit the whole of the remainder.

All the deeds and charters that had been taken from the monastery were to be restored; and all the instruments and obligations forcibly and illegally obtained were declared null and void; and to be surrendered up to the Abbot.

Fox states, that J. Berton, the Alderman, William Herling, thirty-two priests, thirteen women, and a hundred and thirty-eight others of the said town, were outlawed *, of whom divers, after grudging at the said Abbot for breaking promise with them at London, conspired against him, and invaded the manor of Chevington, where he then lay. They robbed and bound him; they then shaved him, and carried him away to London; where they removed

* Collect. Buriens. from Fox.

him

him from street to street till they could convey him over the Thames into Kent, and over sea to Dist in Brabant, where they kept him in much misery and slavery.

At length they were all excommunicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards by the Pope. At last it being known where the Abbot was, he was rescued by his friends, and brought home with procession *.

In the fourth year of Richard the Second, A. D. 1381, the monastery of Bury felt the effects of the rebellions and plundering spirit which then pervaded a considerable part of the kingdom. Soon after Wat Tyler had conducted his Kentish mob to London, the Norfolk and Suffolk men rose in great numbers, and, under the command of Jack Straw, commited enormous devastations. A rabble supposed to amount to nearly fifty thousand marched to Cavendish, and there plundered and burnt the house of Sir John de Cavendish, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench †. They seized the Lord Chief Justice, and proceeded with him to Bury; dragged him into the market-place, where they beheaded him, and placed his head upon the pillory. The mob are supposed to have been the

* Cole adds this in his MS. as if it related to the rioters of 1381, and not to those of 1327. Cole's MS. vol. XLV. p. 30.

† Sir John de Cavendish, an eminent lawyer in 1366, appointed one of the Justices of the King's Bench, removed in 1372 to the Common Pleas, and, on the 15th July, 1373, constituted Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Dugdale, Chron. Juridicial. Collins's Peerage, Ed. 1756, vol. I. p. 189. 8vo. Ed. vol. I. p. 121. T. Walsingham, Hist. Angl. Ed. 1603, p. 262. Morant, Essex, vol. II. p. 323.

more

more incensed against Sir John *, as it was his son, John Cavendish, who dispatched Wat Tyler in Smithfield.

The rioters, instigated by the townsmen, then attacked the monastery. Sir John Cambridge the prior † fled, but was taken and beheaded near Mildenhall; and his head, brought to Bury on a pole, was placed near that of the Lord Chief Justice.

Sir John Lakynhythe, keeper of the barony, was also apprehended and drawn into the market-place; where he also was beheaded, and his head placed by those of his unfortunate friends.

They then plundered the abbey, took away a rich cross, chalices of gold, and many jewels, to the amount of a thousand pounds; and did much mischief to the buildings.

The townsmen appear to have thought this a favourable opportunity for re-asserting their former claims, as, in addition to this destructive rebellion, the abbot Ed. Bromfield was then in confinement at Nottingham, imprisoned by the King for intruding himself into the abbacy. They therefore joined with the rioters, and compelled the monks to execute a renunciation of their privileges, and to place the government of the town in the hands of the alderman and burgesses.

This purpose, however, they were not able fully to effect; for order was soon after restored by the exertion and bravery of Henry Spencer the martial Bishop of Norwich. He marched against

* Stowe, p. 290.

† Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 78. and T. M.

the malcontents with a very inferior force; met them near Barton mills *; and by superior military skill and valour he entirely subdued them. Their leader Liltster, a Norwich dyer, was soon after taken and hanged; and the remainder of the rioters effectually dispersed †.

* Newcomb, St. Alban's, p. 295.

† Henry Spencer was bred to arms in Italy, and distinguished himself much in the wars of Pope Adrian, a native of England, against the Duke of Milan. As a reward for his signal services, the Pope, in 1370, conferred on him the Bishoprick of Norwich.

Under a commission from Pope Urban VI. but against the will of the King, the Bishop, in 1383, raised an army, and landed in the Netherlands, to chastise the Schismatics of that country, who had thrown off the authority of the Pope. On this account he was deprived of his temporalities at Norwich for two years; but, in consideration of his eminent services to the King and Nation in quelling the rebellion in Norfolk and Suffolk, they were restored to him in 1385 by the Parliament. Godwin de Præsulibus, 436. Walsingham. Morant, Essex, vol. I. p. 173.

CHAP-

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION VI.

ROYAL VISITS, PARLIAMENTS, &c.

Canute — Edward the Confessor — Henry the First — Eustace — Seal — Richard de Lucy — Battle of Fornham — Richard the First — John — Earls and Barons — Cardinal Langton — Saker de Quincey — Lewis — Henry the Third — Edward the First — Edward the Second — Isabella — Edward the Third — Richard the Second — Henry the Sixth — Procession of Burgesses — Procession of Monks — Prior's House — King and Noblemen become Members of the Monastery — Letter of Fraternity — Stafford of Canterbury — Humphrey Duke of Gloucester — Henry the Seventh — Mary Queen of France — Charles Brandon — Pavilion — Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk — Queen Elizabeth.

THE splendour of the establishment, and the fame of its tutelar Saint and Martyr, aided by the liberal entertainment of the Abbots, and the excellent accommodation afforded by the extensive buildings, brought many Royal and Noble visitors to the monastery. To no-

tice some of the most remarkable of these visits may assist us in forming an adequate idea of the fame and rank of the abbey, and of the consideration it obtained.

Canute, the zealous friend and patron of the monks, most probably honoured the monastery with his royal presence; though it is not very distinctly stated whether he personally paid his adorations at the shrine of St. Edmund, or only supported the votaries of the Royal Saint and Martyr with his countenance and protection.

The attachment of Edward the Confessor to this monastery, and the devotional visits of this King to the shrine of his illustrious kinsman, have been already noticed.

A. D. 1132, King Henry the First *, returning to England after his interview with Pope Innocent the Third, was, in his passage, overtaken by a violent storm; and, in the hour of danger, made solemn vows of reformation and amendment; and, on his safe arrival on shore, immediately proceeded to Bury, to discharge his religious duties, and pay his devotional adorations at the shrine of St. Edmund.

In the contest for the crown of these realms between the Empress Maud and King Stephen, this monastery appears to have suffered considerably. Soon after the treaty between Stephen and Henry, the Empress's son, Prince Eustace †, came to Bury, and demanded from the Abbot and Convent considerable supplies of money and provisions,

* Collect. Buriens. Holinshed and Green, p. 9.

† Holinshed, p. 60, and T. M. Collect. Buriens.

to

to assist him in supporting his claims to the throne. This request being refused by the Abbot, Eustace immediately ordered military execution upon the country round Bury. The granaries were plundered, and many farms and granges belonging to the monastery ravaged and burnt. In the midst of these violent proceedings, Eustace was seized with a fever that soon proved fatal. He expired at Bury, on St. Laurence's Day, A. D. 1153, in the eighteenth year of his age.

A curious ancient seal made of lead, supposed to have been deposited during these troubles, was, a few years since, dug up from under the pavement of the principal aile of St. Edmund's church. It is, with good reason, thought to have been the great seal of Ranulph the famous Earl of Chester *, one of the most potent and active Lords of those turbulent times, and a strenuous opponent of King Stephen. As Robert a son of Hugh the first Earl of Chester had been Abbot of this Monastery, and the monks refused to assist Prince Eustace, it is probable they were partisans of the Earl of Chester, and adverse to Stephen; and that this seal might have been placed in their custody as a place of safety. Upon the violent attack of Prince Eustace, the monks might think that such an indication of the Earl's confidence in them, if found in their possession by the irritated Prince, would still further inflame his anger; and very probably concealed it under the pavement of the church, where it was suffered to remain, perhaps from the person who hid it dying without giving any account where it was deposited. This conjecture seems probable, from the place and circumstances in which it was found, being dug up near the surface of the earth, where the pavement must have been; and in such a situation it

* Archæologia, vol. IV. p. 119. &c. and T. M.

could

could not have been originally placed in a coffin, neither under a tomb, nor interred with any corpse.

During the unnatural contest between King Henry the Second and his two sons Richard and John, supported by their mother Queen Eleanor, the monastery of Bury appears distinguished for its attachment to the cause of their lawful Sovereign.

Richard de Lucy, Lord Chief Justice; Humphry de Bohun, High Constable; Reginald Earl of Cornwall, and other Noblemen; assembled a powerful army at Bury to oppose the progress of the Prince's partizans.

The rebel General, Robert de Beaumont, Earl of Leicester *, landed at Walton in Suffolk with a large body of Flemings †, and was received at Framlingham Castle by Hugh Bigot, Earl of Norfolk ‡, who had also espoused the cause of the rebellious Princes. Having formed this junction of their forces, they marched forward, and were met at Fornham St. Genoveve by the royal army under Richard de Lucy. A severe and bloody engagement took place on the 27th of October, A. D. 1173; which terminated in a splendid and decisive victory on the side of the King §.

* Robert de Bellemonte surnamed le Bossu. Cole's MS. vol. XLV. p. 29.

† Leland, Itin. vol. II. p. 372.

‡ R. Hoveden, 306, 307. Weever, 718. 777.

§ Cole's MS. vol. XLV. p. 29, says this happened A. D. 1178, and on the 17th October, St. Luke's Eve.

The

The number of Flemings that fell in this battle is variously stated by the historians. By some it is estimated at upwards of ten thousand; others say, that the slain did not exceed five thousand; and that as many were taken prisoners *. Among the prisoners were the Earl of Leicester †, the Countess his lady, and many other persons of distinction.

The consecrated and sacred standard of St. Edmund was, in this engagement, borne before the royal army ‡. The King's forces were afterwards mustered at Bury, and further preparations made for conducting the war, and attacking the castle of Framlingham; which were happily rendered unnecessary §. Hugh Bigot the Earl

* The tumuli, or barrows, about Bury, are frequently to be met with; but about six miles from the town, in the road to Thetford, there are several of them near to each other, and commonly known by the name of the Seven Hills. Were these cut through, and examined by any curious person, most probably some bones, armour, or other remains of antiquity, might be discovered; and tend to elucidate the ancient history of this neighbourhood. T. M.

† Richard de Lucy, Chief Justice of England, and one of the most valiant and celebrated men of his day, took prisoner, near Fornham, Robert Earl of Leicester, together with his Amazonian Countess Petronella, or Parnell, and put to the sword 10,000 Flemings, anno 1173: most of them were buried near Fornham. Their sepulchres are now to be seen near a place called Rymer House, on the road from Bury to Thetford, now called the Seven Hills, though there are many more. These seven, being much the largest, are most noticed, and probably the Commanders were buried under them. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. I. p. 3. Dugdale's Baronage, vol. I. p. 563. Weever, 777. Stowe, An. p. 155. Holinshed, 90, 91, &c.

‡ Collect. Buriens.

§ Camden, 464. Dugdale, Bar. vol. I. p. 133 and 563. R. Hoveden, 308. Daniel, 87. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 22, 23. Stowe, Ann. p. 155.

of

of Norfolk submitted to the King, and many other Nobles following his example, terminated this disgraceful warfare.

Previously to setting out on the crusade, King Richard the First made a devotional visit to the convent and shrine of St. Edmund *. The Abbot (to pay the most flattering and complimentary attention to his royal guest) provided himself privately with a linen cross; and holding this cross in one hand and a needle and thread in the other, he entreated the King's permission that he also might take the cross (*i. e.* that he might have the honour of attending his Sovereign to the Holy Land; those who went upon that expedition being distinguished by a linen cross affixed to the outside of their upper garment). This permission was denied the Abbot through the persuasion of John Bishop of Norwich, who told the King that it was not expedient for the state, nor safe for the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, that the Bishop of Norwich and the Abbot of *St. Edmund's Bury*, should be both absent at the same time †.

On St. Thomas's Day, A. D. 1203, King John came to Bury; paid his adoration at the shrine of St. Edmund, and made some valuable offerings; but that the motives which conferred on the Royal Saint and Martyr the honour of this visit were purely religious admits some doubt, as the Monarch prevailed upon the Abbot and Convent to grant him, during his life, the use of the

* Collect. Buriens.

† Cum rex Richardus accepisset crucem, & venisset infra mensem ad nos orationis gratiâ, abbas ipse sibi fecit crucem occultè de lineo panno, et tenens in unâ manu crucem, et alterâ acum & filum, petivit licentiam à rege ut acciperet crucem; sed denegata est ei licentia, precante epis' Norwic' Johanne, et dicente quod non expediret patriæ, nec tutum esset comitatibus Norf. & Suff. si epis' Norwic' & Abb. Sancti Edmundi simul recederent.

valuable

valuable jewels that his mother Queen Eleanor had presented to St. Edmund.

A. D. 1205, the Earls and Barons, in opposition to King John, held a general assembly at Bury.

The occasion of King John's next and last visit to this monastery leads our thoughts to a subject that ever animates the breast of a Briton with the purest glow of patriotism; the admirable, the unrivalled constitution of his country; the glorious produce of the genius, the wisdom, and the courage of our ancestors; the palladium of our prosperity and our virtues; that shelters under its protecting wing *all* the members of the community; that shuns with equal zeal the mandate of despotism, and the extravagance of faction; that guards with equal care the people's rights and the Monarch's crown.

St. Edmund's Bury participates with Runimede in the honour of having early witnessed the chartered liberties of Britain rescued from the grasp of arbitrary and unconstitutional power; and of assisting the mild and equitable laws of Alfred and Edward to vindicate their authority, and temper the austerity of Norman violence.

On King John's return from Poictou, A. D. 1214 *, a large body of the Nobles and inferior Clergy met him at Bury, and compelled him most solemnly to promise that he would abrogate the arbitrary Norman laws, and re-establish those of Edward the Confessor.

* T. M. and Holinshed, &c. &c.

This august assembly met in the monasterial church of St. Edmund; and Cardinal Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury, produced and placed upon the high altar the charter of Henry the First; the basis of Magna Charter, the glorious bulwark of the liberties and happiness of these realms *. His Majesty, with the utmost solemnity, then ratified and confirmed this celebrated deed; and bound himself, under the sanction of a public oath, to regulate the administration of his government by the enactments it established. The Prelate and Nobles also swore to maintain, with their fortunes and their lives, the authority of this supreme law; and a denun-

* Extract of a Letter from the Rev. Mr. Brand, of Wickham Skeyton.

I am sorry to have so long deferred sending the reference I promised you relating to your venerable old buildings. I copy a few lines from Johnson's Vindication of Magna Charta, who, although a very turbulent man, yet I trust him for his citations from the old Historians, and from Matthew Paris.

The foundation of Magna Charta is a Charter of Henry I. which had fallen into oblivion as early as the days of John. A copy of it fell into the hands of Stephen Langton, then Archbishop of Canterbury. He speaks of it as a thing little known. "There is now found," says he, "a certain Charter of Henry I. but when the "Lords became acquainted with the contents, they were so fond of it, that they "got it away from the Archbishop; and the next year, about Michaelmas, when "the King was returning out of France, the Earls and Barons met at St. Edmund's "Bury; it might be thought for devotion, but it was to consult about their liberties; "and there the Charter of Henry I. which contained their laws and liberties, was "again produced and treated of among them. After which, they all went to the "high altar, and there swore in order, beginning at the greatest, that if the King "should refuse to confirm by his Charter, &c. &c. they would make war upon him "until he did." They then determined to provide arms, &c. to enforce their demand jointly after Christmas. The meeting at Bury was summoned by the Archbishop. These particulars you will find in Matthew Paris from p. 167 to 176.

ciation

ciation of awful imprecations upon the violaters of it concluded the solemn ceremony *.

Saher de Quincy Earl of Winchester raised the seige of Colchester, and withdrew, A. D. 1215, with his army of foreigners, to *St. Edmund's Bury* †.

A. D. 1216, Lewis, the son of Philip the Second of France, was invited over by the rebellious Barons to oppose Henry the Third ‡. He is stated, by the French biographer of St. Edmund §, to have plundered the monastery of Bury, and carried away with him into France, the Body of the Royal Saint and Martyr.

Henry the Third several times visited the convent of St. Edmund. A royal mandate was issued, dated from Bury 1st of September 36 Henry III. commanding that bakers should not impress their bread intended for sale *(panem venalem)* with the sign of the cross, *Agnes Dei*, or the name of Jesus Christ; a practice derogatory to the honour of those sacred emblems **.

When civil commotions distracted the kingdom in the reign of Henry the Third, that Monarch appointed a general rendezvous of his friends and supporters to be held at Bury; and summoned the

* This transaction forms the subject of an elegant historic painting in the Gallery at Oxford, executed by W. Martyn, Esq. and engraved in metzotinto by .....

† Morant's Colchester.

‡ M. Paris, edit. 1640, p. 286. M. West, 298. Stowe, Ann. 173. 176.

§ Mons. Casenewe, Vit. St. Edmund.

** Cole, MS. vol. XLV. p. 49.

Barons who owed military service to the crown to meet him there *. They accordingly assembled, properly equipped with horses and arms, and were joined at Bury by the King early in February 1267. Octobonus, the legate, attended by all the prelates and peers of the realm, came the following day to the monastery, and held there a solemn council, in which he, in the presence of the King, pronounced a sentence of excommunication on the insurgents, who had strongly posted themselves in the Isle of Ely, if they did not return to their duty and allegiance. The legate then returned to London; and the King marched with his army towards Cambridge.

This Monarch again visited Bury; and, on St. Giles's day, A. D. 1272, held a parliament there †; and, by its advice, proceeded to Norwich to punish the authors of a violent insurrection against the prior and monks of that city. The King left Bury, and entered Norwich on the 14th of September; and having effected the object of his journey, returned to this monastery; and during his stay here was seized with the fatal disorder that shortly after terminated his reign and life.

Edward the First and Queen Eleanor honoured this town and monastery with a visit in the month of August, A. D. 1289 ‡.

A. D. 1296, the day after the commemoration of *All Souls*, the King held a parliament at *St. Edmund's Bury;* designing especially

* Batteley, 113. Math. Paris, et Reg. in Archi. Sudburiæ.

† Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 40. Batteley, p. 114. T. M.

‡ Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 47.

to

to ask an aid of the clergy and people. The laity granted him the *twelfth penny* of all their estates; and the burgesses the *seventh penny* *.

The Archbishop of Canterbury held his council with the clergy at *St. Edmund's Bury*; where he published the new papal constitution; which expressly forbids all ecclesiastics contributing any thing to the secular power, without consulting the Pope.

The clergy thought proper to obey this injunction, and refused the King's request. He prorogued the parliament, and appointed the clergy to meet again on the octave of St. Hilary, at London. This day a general convocation of the clergy was held, to consult about the peace of the church of England; the King's threats; and for avoiding voluntary oppression. The clergy adhered to their former resolution. The King being therewith provoked, resolved to practise unheard of severity towards the church; and withdrawing the shelter of his due defence from the Lady and Queen of the world, leaving her exposed to the rage of impious men and plunderers, and for his private conveniency, deprived her of all protection. Several of the clergy, intimidated by the King's severities, granted him a fifth of all their possessions, spiritual as well as temporal. The King seized all the lay fees of the church, religious men, and clergy, that had not taken his protection.

On Ash Wednesday all the goods of the Abbot and Convent of *St. Edmund's Bury* were confiscated; and all their manors seized, together with the borough of *St. Edmund's Bury*.

* Joh. Eversden; History of Taxes, p. 88, &c. Other accounts say A. D. 1298.

These

These violent and injurious contentions continued upwards of two years; and the clergy were at length compelled to submit, and allowed the King a subsidy of one fifteenth (other accounts say one tenth) of their goods and rents.

A. D. 1326, King Edward the Second celebrated Christmas in the monastery of Bury *. His Queen Isabella, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the King's favourites, obtained the assistance of the Prince of Hainault, and landed with an armed force on the coast of Suffolk. She marched her troops to this town; where she continued some time, to refresh her army and collect her adherents.

King Edward the Third visited this town and convent, and paid his adorations at the shrine of St. Edmund.

A. D. 1383, King Richard the Second and his Queen visited Bury; and spent ten days with the votaries of St. Edmund; the entertainment cost the monastery eight hundred marks †.

In the 12th year of his age and reign, on the feast of *All Saints*, A. D. 1433, King Henry the Sixth determined to celebrate the approaching Christmas in the monastery of St. Edmund ‡; and there to reside till the St. George's Day following. When the intention of this royal visit was made known to William Curteys, the Abbot,

* Stowe, 223. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 57.

† Collect. Buriens. Holinshed, vol. II. f. 444. Blomefield, vol. II. p. 81.

‡ T. M. Collect. Buriens. Regist Curteys, &c. &c.

then

then at his manor of Elmswell, highly gratified with this distinguished honour, he hastened with all possible dispatch to Bury, that arrangements might immediately be made for entertaining his royal guest in an appropriate manner, becoming the splendor and dignity of his elevated station *.

The palace being then out of repair, eighty workmen were employed; and, in one month, it was refitted with much elegant and superb decoration.

The Abbot summoned the Alderman and chief men of the town to consider in what dress and colour they should go to meet the King. After much diversity of opinion, scarlet robes were determined on.

The Alderman, Burgesses, and attendants, forming a splendid cavalcade of about five hundred persons, on Christmas-eve left Bury, and met his Majesty on Newmarket-heath; where they joined the royal retinue, which already was so numerous as to extend a mile.

Thus attended, the King arrived at the monastery; and as the campanile of St. Edmund's church was then in a ruinous state, he

* In Cole's MS. vol. XXXIII. p. 419, he says, "It is somewhat remarkable, "that none of our Historians or Chroniclers (such at least as I have had an opportunity of consulting) say any thing of this long visit of Henry VI. at Bury, "except Mr. Strutt, who, in his Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, No. 41, "quotes a passage from a MS. of Lydgate, who makes mention of it." The MS. is Harl. Bibl. 2278.

entered

entered by the South gate; where embracing the Earl of Warwick *, he dismounted from his horse, and devoutly kneeled before a cross. He was received by the whole body of the brethren in a solemn procession, assisted by the venerable fathers the Bishop of Norwich and the Lord Abbot in their pontifical robes. The Abbot sprinkled the King with holy water, and presented the sacred cross to his royal lips.

Proceeding into the church, they advanced to the high altar with singing and sacred music.

The devotional solemnities being performed, and offerings made at the shrine of St. Edmund, the King and Nobles repaired to the Abbot's palace, and partook of a most splendid entertainment in the great hall, richly decorated for the purpose.

They continued with the Abbot till the Epiphany; and then the King, with his noble attendants, removed to the Prior's house, the situation of which was particularly pleasing to his Majesty, from its vicinity to the water and vineyard; and as the King delighted much in the sports of the field, an agreeable and easy passage was afforded through the vineyard into the adjoining plains and groves whenever he chose to take the diversion of either hunting the fox or the hare.

* Richard, the 5th Earl of Warwick, Governor of Normandy, Lieutenant General under John Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, and Captain of Calais. He died 17 Henry VI.

Cole, MS. vol. XXXIII. p. 419, observes, this probably is one of the two covered persons in the 41st Plate of Strutt's Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities, and not the Regent's, who, I believe, was at this time at Paris.

Having

Having been informed that the Abbot's manor of Elmswell, enriched with canals, abounding with fish, and surrounded by groves well stocked with game, was peculiarly adapted for the enjoyment of rural recreations, he resolved to pass some time there; and accordingly left the Prior's house on the 23d of January; and the same day arrived at Elmswell, with a great number of his Earls, Barons, and other Nobility.

Here the morning's amusement, in hawking, fishing, and hunting, supplied the table with adundance; and cygnets, pheasants, partridges, and other birds; with pike *, eels, and other delicacies in great variety, were daily served in the most sumptuous manner. The noble visitors were highly gratified with the Abbot's generous attention and dignified liberality, and remained with him till the eve of the purification; which solemnity they celebrated in the monastery, and then returned again to Elmswell, and enjoyed the comforts of that delightful retreat till the approach of Lent; the whole of this holy season they resided in the Prior's house; and the devotional exercises of this solemn fast being duly performed, the royal guest returned to the Abbot's palace, where the festival of Easter was splendidly solemnized. When the time appointed for their leaving the monastery was arrived, a grand mass, and other divine offices, were celebrated with great devotion; and the King, the Duke of Gloucester, and other Nobles, passed into the Chapter House; where, by the Abbot and Convent, his Majesty was solemnly instituted a member of their community, and received from the Abbot a kiss in token of the fraternal bond; and

* An instance, among others, of the pike being known in England before Henry VIII. when it has been said to have been first introduced among us. Cole, MS. vol. XXXIII. p. 419.

many of the Noblemen and attendants of the King were at the same time admitted and enrolled as brethren of the monastery. The King graciously declared his satisfaction and approbation of the entertainment he had received, and took his leave, earnestly recommending himself to God, St. Edmund, and the prayers of the Abbot and Brotherhood *.

It appears to have been an established maxim of policy with the monks, to inculcate the opinion, that any person enrolled and admitted an honorary member of the community, though not resident in the convent, might receive great spiritual benefit from a participation in the prayers and devotional offices of the establishment. Under the influence of this sentiment, the monks obtained much favour and protection. Noblemen and wealthy persons of both sexes were frequently received as members of the monastery, and admitted to fraternization by the convent in full chapter.

We have seen that King Henry the Sixth, and many of his noble attendants, became members of the convent of St. Edmund; and in this they followed an established custom; some other instances of which may be stated.

On account of the protection and benignity that John Duke of Aquitane and Lancaster always afforded the monastery of St. Edmund, the Abbot and Convent granted the Duke, during his life, a participation in all the pious works, prayers, devotional exercises, and offices of the monastery; and engaged, that after his death a solemn service and aniversary should every year be celebrated. This was granted the 20th of May, 1392 †.

* Collect. Buriens.

† T. M. Regist. W. Cratfield. Bibl. Col. Tib. B. 9.

A. D.

A. D. 1415, on the 25th of January *, a letter† of fraternity was granted by the convent of St. Edmund, in their Chapter-house, to Edmund Mortimer Earl of March and Ulster.

Roger Drury, Esq. Lord of the manor of Hawsted, was admitted a brother of the chapter, and bequeathed their monastery a legacy.

In the Register of W. Curteys ‡, it is stated, that on the 6th of March, A. D. 1440, Henry Drury and Elizabeth his wife, Humphrey Earl of Bucks and his Countess and two sons, Henry de Bourcher Earl of Ewe and his son, Ann de Vere a daughter of the Earl of Oxford, and several others, were admitted members of the chapter. They gave the monastery a grand entertainment, besides two rich copes, and all that belonged to them; an account of the great entertainment given by them to the convent on that day, is also detailed in the register.

A copy of one of the original grants, or letters of fraternization, was preserved by Mr. Martin; and is as follows §:

* T. M. Regist. W. Cratfield.

† These letters first of all set forth, in most extravagant terms, the various good qualities of the new brother; then promise him that he shall be a partaker of the merits (in quantum Dei permittit clementia) of all the prayers, fastings, and other good works of the Convent, both in his life and death; and, when he is dead, his anniversary shall be constantly observed. The ceremony generally ended by the new brother giving a feast to the Convent. Cole, MS. vol. XXXIII. p. 419.

‡ N. M. Regist. Curteys, and Sir John Cullum's Hawsted, p. 117.

§ Collection, T. M.

A Grant of the Monastery of BURY *to make* WILLIAM PASTON *a Brother of the* CHAPTER HOUSE.

" William, by divine permission, Abbot of the exempt monastery of " St. Edmund, and the Prior and Convent of the same place, to the " honourable man William Paston, health and eternal felicity after " death, by the suffrages of prayer. For the devotion which you " have to God and our monastery, in which the most Glorious King " and Martyr St. Edmund corporally and uncorruptibly resteth; " we receive you with the affection of sincere charity, and wish " to reward you with a return of spiritual benefits; and believing " that it will be acceptable to God and all the Saints, we kindly " admit, by these presents, your honourable person into the fra- " ternity of our chapter. We, moreover, grant to you, equally in " life and in death, as far as the mercy of God permits, a perpetual " participation of all masses, psalms, prayers, fasts, abstinencies, " holy watchings, alms, labours, and all other spiritual benefits " which the Lord hath ordained to be performed by our brethren " appointed, or that shall be appointed in our said monastery; " we also add, and of special grace grant, that when the day of " your death shall be made public in our Chapter-house, with the " representation of those who were present, that your name shall " be inserted in our Martyrology, to be repeated in every succeeding " year; and that your name shall be sent to all monasteries of our " religion, and to many other holy places established in England, " to be eternally praised in the devout prayers of the holy fathers " who dwell therein. And other things for the health of thy " devout soul shall be fulfilled, which have been accustomed to be " done for the brothers and sisters of our aforesaid chapter; and

" for

" for all other friends who have gone the way of all flesh in past " times.

" In testimony of which grant we have caused our seal to be " placed to these presents.

" Given in our aforesaid monastery on the feast of St. Ambrose " Bishop and Confessor A. D. 1429*."

* Will'm's, permissione divinâ, Abbas exempti Monasterii de Sancto Edmundo, ejusdemque loci Prior et Conventus, honorabili viro Will'mo Paston, salutem; et per oracionum suffragia gaudia post decessum percipere sempiterna. Devotionem quam erga Deum et nostrum habetis Monasterium, in quo gloriosissimus Rex et Martir' Edmundus corporaliter et incorruptè requiescit, sincerè caritatis affectu acceptantes, ipsumque spiritualium beneficiorum vicissitudinibus volentes compensari; Deo et Sanctis omnibus acceptabile fore credentes; vestram personam honorabilem ad fraternitatem nostri capituli complacentius admittimus per presentes; omniumque missar', psalmor', oracionum, jejunior', abstinenciar', vigiliar' sanctar', elemosinar', labor', ceterorumque spiritualium bonor' omnium que per fratres nostros in dicto Monasterio nostro constitutos et constituendos domin' dederit operari participationem perpetuam, in quantum Dei permittit misericordia, vobis insuper concedimus in vitâ pariter' et in morte; adjicientes, et de graciâ speciali concedentes, ut cum obitus vestri dies in capitulo nostro cum representacione presentium fuerit publicat', nomen vestrum in nostro inseretur martilogio, annis singulis deinceps repetendum; ipsumque nomen ad omnia nostre religionis transmittetur Monasteria, et ad pluria alia loca Sancta per Angliam constituta Sanctor' Patrum ibidem com'orancium devotis precibus intimius commendand'; et cetera pro vestre salute anime devotè implebuntur que pro fratribus et sororibus nostri capituli antedicti aliisque amicis nostri ordinis viam universe carnis ingressis fieri consueverunt temporibus retroactis. In cujus concessionis testimonium sigillum nostrum presentibus duximus apponend'. Dat' in sepedicto Monasterio nostro, in festo Saneti Ambrosii Episcopi et Confessoris, anno Domini mill'mo cccc^{mo} vicesimo nono **.

** Indorsed in a later hand, " A Graunte of the Monastery of Bury, to make Wyll'm Paston Justic' Brother of Chapter-howse."

The seal is of red wax, but much broken, and is the legendary History of St. Edmund, as represented in the plate of seals.

A. D.

A. D. 1446, 25th of Henry the Sixth, *in Festo S. Scholasticæ*, a parliament was holden at Bury *, at which the King presided in person; sitting in the chair of state within the refectory of the abbey.

John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury †, opened the session with a discourse, taking for his text, Prov. xii. 20. "To the counsellors of peace is joy." In expatiating upon which he declared, that an arrangement had been formed, between the English and French ambassadors, for a personal interview of the two Monarchs; and sufficient assurance taken for the King's passage, and for the safety of his royal person while in France. That his Majesty was desirous of taking their counsel, and for that purpose had called them together. Notwithstanding this plausible opening, it appeared that the real purpose of the meeting was to perpetrate the destruction of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the King's uncle, the popular and beloved Regent of England.

This parliament was convened under the influence of Cardinal de Beaufort, the Regent's inveterate enemy. And Hume says it assembled, not at London, which was supposed to be too well affected to the Duke, but at *St. Edmund's Bury*; where his enemies expected he would be entirely at their mercy. And accordingly, after some preliminary precautions, the good Duke was arrested and imprisoned ‡.

* Collect. Buriens. T. M. St. Alban's Chron. Holinshed, p. 627, &c. &c.

† Son of Humphry Stafford, Earl of Stafford, and afterwards Duke of Buckingham. He died anno 1452.

‡ Hume, History of England abridged, vol. I. p. 312.

Preparations

Preparations were made for bringing him to a trial; but the adverse party dreading the effect of his innocence and virtues, if displayed in a public defence, did not trust to their impeachment. They employed more effectual and certain means of destroying the object of their hatred; and, on the morning appointed to give him a public hearing, the victim of ambitious malice was found dead in his bead; and an apoplexy was declared to have been the cause of his death.

Pitts, p. 638, relates, that this Mæcenas of his age was smothered with bolsters *(pulvinis suffocatus)*.

A traditional opinion prevails, that Duke Humphrey was imprisoned, and the atrocious murder committed in an apartment of St. Saviour's Hospital, then an appendage to the monastery.

Some writers state that he died at Bury on the 24th of February, 1447 *.

Another

* St. Alban's Chronicle, 26 Henry VI. Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the King's Uncle, arrested at Bury, died 24 Feb. 1447. Vide Holinshed, p. 627. T. Martin.

A. D. 1447, Feb. x. 25 Henry VI. incepit Parliamentum apud Buriam in Refectorio Monasterii; 23° die ejusdem mensis Humfridus D. Gloucestriæ obiit. Epit. Chron. Regum Angliæ, MS. Bib. Lambeth.

Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was buried at St. Alban's. On his tomb is a Latin inscription, the last lines of which may be thus translated.

He fell beneath an envious woman's wile,
Both to herself, her king and kingdom vile:
Who scarce allow'd his bones this spot of land,
Yet, spite of envy, shall his glory stand.

About

Another parliament was held at *St. Edmund's Bury*, A. D. 1448 *.

After Henry the Seventh was peaceably settled on the throne of these realms, making a progress through Norfolk and Suffolk, A. D. 1486, he honoured the town and monastery of St. Edmund with a royal visit †.

Among the illustrious patrons and protectors of this town and convent, we must particularly notice Mary Queen of France, who, during her life, distinguished them with her favour and protection, and whose remains are deposited, and still preserved in St. Mary's church.

Mary, the youngest daughter of Henry the Seventh, and Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, were the most distinguished characters in the brilliant court of Henry the Eighth.

The beauty, splendour, and elegant accomplishments of the Princess Mary were evidently conspicuous; and, at tilt and tournament, the martial and graceful exercises of the times, Charles excelled all his cotemporaries. Superior qualities on each side excited a mutual attachment; but policy and the customs of the court placed

About 50 years ago was discovered, in digging a grave, a pair of stairs that led down into a vault, in which was found a leaden coffin, wherein the Duke of Gloucester's corpse was preserved almost entire by a kind of pickle in which it lay; only the flesh was wasted from the legs, the pickle at that end of the coffin being dried up. Newberry's Description of England, vol. IV. p. 256.

* History of Taxes, p. 158.

† Blomefield, vol. II. p. 125.

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an apparently insurmountable barrier to their union and happiness; and, by a treaty of peace between the King of England and Lewis the Twelfth of France, it was agreed, that the young and charming Princess Mary should be given in marriage to the aged and infirm French Monarch. She was accordingly sent over to France, with a magnificent retinue. At the solemnization of this marriage, magnificent tournaments were celebrated; and the Duke of Suffolk distinguised himself above all the champions by his dexterity, valour, and gallantry *.

This cheerless and unnatural union of youth and age was shortly after dissolved by the death of Lewis; and the Duke of Suffolk was sent over to France to re-conduct the Queen to her native country.

The sacrifice of domestic happiness to political expediency was no longer necessary. On her arrival in England, the amiable Princess bestowed her royal hand on the object of her affection; and was conducted to the hymeneal altar by the gallant and accomplished Duke of Suffolk.

During the celebration of the great fair at Bury, a splendid tent or pavilion was erected in the great court of the abbey, for the accommodation of Mary Queen of France; in which she received the compliments of the nobility and gentry, who resorted to Bury to join in the amusements and entertainments that the town, at the time of the fair, peculiarly afforded †.

* Drayton's Poly-Olbion, and the Histories of England.

† This circumstance is given from the MS communication of a gentleman, who does not state his authority.

This illustrious Lady died A. D. 1533, and was interred in the monasterial church of Bury, and at the dissolution translated to St. Mary's church.

In the year 1526, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk met at Bury; and, by their wisdom and moderation, quelled an alarming rebellion that had arisen in Suffolk, at Lavenham, Hadleigh, Sudbury, and places adjacent. Many of the insurgents were brought to Bury; when they appeared before these noblemen in their shirts, with halters about their necks, and received the royal pardon *.

Queen Elizabeth visited the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk A. D. 1578; and, in her progress, her Majesty was splendidly entertained at Lawshall and Hawsted †. "Sir William Drury, for his part, at "his house made the Queen's Highness a most costly and delicate "dinner ‡." This gentleman, says Sir John Cullum in his History of Hawsted, had the honour of entertaining Queen Elizabeth at his house here. She rode in the morning from Sir William Cordell's, at Melford, and dined with one of the Drurys at Lawshall Hall, about five miles from Hawsted. In the evening she came to Hawsted; her apartments there, ever afterwards, retaining her name. It was at this time perhaps that the royal guest bestowed the honour of knighthood upon the master of the mansion. At the same time their excellencies, the French ambassadors and many of the

* Holinshed, p. 891. Blomefield, vol. II. p. 142.

† Blomefield, vol. II. p. 226, says, the Queen was entertained at *Roughham* by Sir William Drury.

‡ Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. II. under the year 1578, p. 53, 54; and Sir John Cullum's History of Hawsted, p. 132.

nobility,

nobility, partook of the hospitality of Sir Robert Jermyn, at Rushbrooke: "Sir Robert Jermyen, of Roesbroke, feasted the French "embassadours two sevcral times; with which charges and courtesie "they stood marvellously contented."

On the 7th of August the Queen was at Bury *. In the Register of St. James's parish, in Bury, this circumstance is thus recorded: "August the 7th, 1578, at this time the Queen at "Bury."

* Nichols's Progresses of Queen Elizabeth, vol. II. under the year 1578, p. 106.

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION VII.

GRANDEUR AND MAGNIFICENCE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.

Buildings — Leland's Description — Privileges — Wealth — Frank Almaigne — Baronies and Knight's Service — Comparative Rank — Proportion of Assessments — Abbot's Admission Fees — Knights Fees — Estimated annual Income — Sir Henry Spelman's Description.

THE monastery of *St. Edmund's Bury* has been generally supposed to have exceeded, in magnificent buildings, splendid decorations, important privileges, valuable immunities, and ample endowments, all other ecclesiastical and monastic establishments in England, Glastonbury alone excepted.

The monks, at various periods during the whole time of their possessions, continued to expend a considerable portion of their vast riches in extending and beautifying the buildings of the monastery;

nastery; and a constant object of their ambition appears to have been to equal, if not surpass, all their contemporaries in the number and stateliness of their edifices.

There were four grand gates for entrance to the Abbey; and its lofty embattled walls inclosed, within a vast circumference, the body of the monastery, the Abbot's palace, court-yard, garden, offices, &c.; the Chapter-house, towers, cloisters, ambulatories, infirmaries, and offices of all kinds; the splendid monasterial church, extensive cemetery, three smaller churches, and several chapels.

And without the circuit of the walls, many hospitals, chapels, and other religious edifices, under the patronage and protection of the monks, and depending upon them for support, added much to the general grandeur of this magnificent establishment.

Leland, who lived when this abbey was in its full prosperity, and may be supposed to have seen it in its greatest splendour, in a celebrated passage of his works, thus describes it: "The sun hath not "shone on a town more delightfully situated on a gradual and easy "descent, with a small river flowing on the Eastern part; or a "monastery more illustrious, whether we consider its wealth, its ex-"tent, or its incomparable magnificence: you might indeed say that "the monastery itself is a town; so many gates there are, some of "them of brass; so many towers; and a church, than which none "can be more magnificent, and subservient to which are three "others also splendidly adorned with admirable workmanship, and "standing in one and the same church-yard. The rivulet mentioned "above, with an arched bridge thrown over it, glides through the "bounds of the monastery *."

* Leland, Itinerary, Com. Cygn. voce Curia; edit. Hearne, vol. IX. p. 49.

These

These buildings and decorations will be more particularly noticed, and individually described, in the second part of this work.

Of the magnitude and consequence attached to the privileges, immunities, and exemptions of this convent, a satisfactory opinion may be formed from the account already given of them in the preceding sections of this chapter; and they will be further illustrated in the chapter allotted to the examination of the Franchise.

At this distance of time it is impossible with accuracy to estimate the enormous wealth of the Abbot and Convent. Their numerous and extensive possessions will be particularized in a chapter appropriated to that purpose; and, in addition to that, we may here be assisted to form an idea of their annual income from a comparison of some of their contributions at different periods to the assistance of the state, with the portions imposed upon other establishments and towns; and from the proportional assessments made upon their own possessions.

Before the Conquest the manors and lands of the greater Abbots were exempt from all secular service, being held in *Frank Almaigne*, or Free Alms *; but, in the reign of William the Conqueror, the Legislature declared them to be Baronies, which brought them under the obligation of Knight's service, and bound them to the same obligations of homage and military service as the civil tenures of like nature.

When King Henry the Second married his daughter Maud to the Duke of Saxony, he levied an aid of one marc for each Knight's

* History of Taxes, p. 4. Lord Lyttelton's Henry the Second, p. 43. 50. Morant, Essex, Introduction, p. 20. 21.

Fee *. The Abbot of *St. Edmund's Bury* paid forty marcs for forty Fees, which he admitted; and was charged with twelve marcs and an half for the Fees which he did not acknowledge. This tends, in some degree, to ascertain the rate the monastic possessions of St. Edmund were estimated worth at that time; but in the 2d year of Henry the Third, John de Cornerde, custos of the abbey, answered for fifty-two Knights Fee and a half, and a quarter part of a Knight's Fee †.

King Henry the Third at one time exacted eight hundred marcs from the Abbot of St. Edmnnd ‡.

Henry, Prior, and Richard, Sacrist of St. Edmund, fined in two hundred pounds, that they might have the custody of their abbey, with all the lands, things, rents, and other possessions, and the corn of that autumn belonging to the abbey, until Michaelmas, in the 13th year of the King, A. D. 1229; saving to the King the donations of churches belonging to the abbey, if any should happen to be void in that term, and saving to the King in the mean time the wards, escheats, &c. §

A. D. 1248, the Abbot of *St. Edmund's Bury* contributed twelve hundred marcs ‖.

* Madox, History of Exchequer, p. 398. History of Taxes, p. 26.

† Mag. Rot. 2 Henry III. Rot. 3. 6. Norfolk and Suffolk. Madox, Baronia Anglicana, p. 96.

‡ History of Taxes, p. 48.

§ Mag. Rot. 13 Henry III. tit. Norfolk and Suffolk, in dorso. Madox, Exchequer, p. 287.

‖ History of Taxes, p. 70.

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The rank held by this establishment among its contemporaries appears from this; that Peter Bishop of Hereford, about A. D. 1255, bound the religious houses for re-payment of a loan to some foreign merchants; the smaller from one to two hundred marcs; the greater from three to four hundred; and some to five hundred; but the monastery of St. Edmund was charged seven hundred marcs *.

A. D. 1273, the clergy granted the tenth of their temporal and spiritual revenues. The convent of *St. Edmund's Bury* compounded for the tenth of all goods of one year, in common with the Abbots of one year for one hundred pounds; and the like for the second; the Abbot paying fifty marcs of the money, and the convent a hundred marcs †.

A. D. 1277, the Abbot and Convent again compounded for half of a fifteenth of their goods, by a fine of ninety pounds; the Abbot paying thirty, and the Convent sixty pounds

The Abbot and Convent also compounded for the township of *St. Edmund's Bury*, at one hundred pounds; to be levied on the town, and paid to the King by the aforesaid convent for preserving the liberty of the said town. In the year following, A. D. 1278, the other moiety of the fifteenth granted to the King was collected and compounded for by this monastery at ninety pounds; and paid by the Abbot and Convent in shares similar to the preceding collection.

* Joh. Eversden, History of Taxes, p. 72.

† Ibidem, p. 79, 80, 81.

From

From the proportion of these assessments it appears, that the monastery allowed, in the payment of the tax, an annual income of near three thousand pounds; and which may certainly be estimated at considerably more, as these compositions would always be made upon the lowest possible calculation; and the monks were not much inclined to divulge the various sources of their profits, or even to state the full produce of their more evident possessions.

A. D. 1281, a confirmation was obtained from the King of an allotment of the possessions of the monastery into distinct and separate portions, for the use of the Abbot and officers of the convent. On this occasion a fine of one thousand pounds was paid to the King; besides the Queen's gold, proportionable to so large a sum; and other expe nes collaterally accruing, which amounted to a vast sum of money *.

A. D. 1282, the King took up money by way of loan from his cities and boroughs; and this, in an incidental manner, enables us to judge of the comparative rank in which Bury was then estimated; as the city of Norwich paid seven hundred and fifty marcs, and the burgesses of Bury were taxed five hundred marcs; and those that belonged to the monks court, having never before been taxed, were charged two hundred and sixty marcs †. Likewise the brotherhood of the Twelfth town of St. Edmund was taxed twelve marcs; and from the Abbot and Convent one hundred marcs were demanded under the same colour; so that the monastery and its dependencies may be said to have supplied eight hundred and seventy two-marcs;

* Joh. Eversden, History of Taxes, p. 82. Collect. Buriens. Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 297.

† Joh. Eversden, History of Taxes, p. 82.

a sum nearly one fourth more than was paid by the extensive city of Norwich.

On account of the same expedition, the King levied fifty marcs for each Knight's service; but then dealt more favourably with the Abbot of *St. Edmund's Bury,* taking three hundred pounds for his service.

A grant of a fifteenth was collected, A. D. 1291; the Abbot and Convent compounded with the King for one thousand marcs, for their own goods, those of the burgesses of *St. Edmund's Bury,* and their natives or vassals; and, in A. D. 1298, a fifteenth was also levied and compounded for by a similar payment of one thousand marcs (666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*) Some accounts state, that this was paid as a tenth; but that seems improbable, as the preceding fifteenth was compounded for by the same sum: by these compositions we find, that the possessions and dependencies of the monastery were then taken at the sum of ten thousand pounds; an enormous sum according to the value of money at those times.

After the papal see obtained an ascendency in the ecclesiastical arrangements of England, the Abbot of *St. Edmund's Bury,* being exempt from the jurisdiction of the English diocesan, on his election to the government of the convent, was accustomed to make a personal application to the Pope for confirmation and admission to the office; and, upon every vacancy in the abbacy, the court of Rome did not receive less than three thousand florins for the grant of confirmation to the Abbot; besides the expences of so long a journey. Abbot Cratfield obtained an exemption from this heavy imposition, on condition that he and his successors should pay an annual

annual pension of twenty marcs into the Apostolic Chamber. To procure this privilege, the Abbot expended, of his own property, 756*l.* 1*s.* 11¼*d.* desides 30*l.* he took from the shrine of St. Edmund.

A fine of twelve hundred marcs was also paid to the King on every vacancy. This Abbot Cratfield commuted for a yearly payment of forty marcs into the royal treasury. This cost him 149*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* besides 100*l.* which he received of the convent *.

An ancient and imperfect MS. † in the Harleian Library has the following account relative to the Knights Fees of this Monastery.

" The Abbot of Bury, Sampson, went to law with the Knights " that owed Knights services to him. He demanded L whole " Knights Services; which they in part denyed; but at length, " afore the ..... byshope, he them ..... they all confessed.— " First, Earl Do' Bigot recognized *iij* Knights services for his parte. " Albericus de Veer and William de Hastings were then beyond sea " in the Kyng's service. Alberike de Veer was the last that wolde " recognise it; but the Abbot took and sold his cattyle. At length " he came in and confessed. The Abbot had then all to London " of his own cost, there to have them in open court to make theyre " recognitions of theyre said services.

" Kinge Richard demanded of all Bishops and Abbots, y^t^ every " *xv* Knights of all theyre Baronies they should make him the *xth*, " to come and serve him in his wars in Normandie, with horse and " armorie, against the French Kynge; whereupon the Abbot of

* Regist. W. Cratfield. Bibl. Cott. Collect. Buriens. and T. M.

† Bibl. Harl. MS. No. 367. p. 14.

"Bury was to make him *iiij*; but when the Knights alledged "a privilege that they shold not go forth of the realm, he went "..... to .... the matter, and hired *iiij* stipendiary Knyghts; "which the Kyng received."

There was a great difference in quantity or extent between some Baronies and others; and between some Knights Fees * and others. This difference arose from the respective charters of feoffment granted by the Crown. If the King enfeoffed a man of twenty carues of land, to hold by the service of one Knight; or of forty carues of land, to hold by the service of one Knight; the feoffee had, in each case, one Knight's Fee. The fees of the old feoffment were commonly larger in quantity or extent than those of the new †.

The regular revenue of the monastery of St. Edmund's Bury comprized fifty-two Knights Fees, and three-fourths of a fee; together with the regalities, royalties, &c. of the eight hundreds and a half ‡.

The few instances that have been here selected from the numerous assessments and grants of aids, taxes, compositions, &c. paid

* Tenures, Knights Fees, services in capite, &c. Vide Coke, Inst. I. f. 75. 108. Selden, Tit. Hon. 572.

† Madox, Exchequer, p. 220.

‡ Collect. Buriens. A MS Collection formerly belonging to Sir J. Burrough, now to ——— Pate, Esq. gives the income of the Abbey 82¾ Knights Fees with 8½ hundreds temporal jurisdiction.

by

by the monastery, may afford assistance in an attempt to form an estimate of the wealth of the establishment.

In doing this it will be necessary to remember, that although at the dissolution the Commissioners returned the annual income of the monastery at 2336*l.* 16*s.* *, yet this must be supposed to have been most materially under-rated. The Commissioners are generally allowed to have much under-valued the possessions, hoping to obtain some of them to themselves. The monks had usually let their farms and manors at rents far below their real worth; and would, no doubt, conceal and under-state their wealth and the value of their possessions. It must also be considered how many sources of income the monks had that could never be accurately ascertained. They received many of their profits in provisions of victuals, corn, and cattle of all sorts.

Some of the farms on their estates even in and near Bury appear not to have been held by the officers of the monastery *in propriis manibus*, but were let to tenants and farmers at annual rents †. The modes of payment stipulated in the leases seem intended to protect the monastery from the consequences resulting from the variation

* Stowe; but Weever, Funeral Monuments, p. 722, says 1560*l.* old rent by the year; and another account gives 1669*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.* A MS Breviary of Suffolk, in the Bibl. Harl. No. 3873, states, the first fruits of the monastery, 1669*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.* and the tenths, 169*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* Fuller's Church History, vol. VI. p. 395, says, the auditors in these accounts pretend to much exactness, descending to halfpence and farthings; though much partiality was used therein. Many of the raters at the dissolution, being ranters for the present, proved purchasers for the future of the lands.

† Collections of T. M.

of

of price in the articles of provision. Every farm had its peculiar kind of provision and services allotted to deliver, pay, and render as rent, for the general use of the monastery; by which arrangement there could be no diminution of revenue upon the whole, as the tenants engaged to deliver a certain quantity of the produce of the farm, or to discharge their rent in money, at the discretion and pleasure of the officers to whom the collection appertained *. Even those estates immediately adjoining to the monastery were not held by the monks, and cultivated under their directions, but, like the more distant possessions, let to tenants upon lease. A sufficient specimen of the nature of the stipulations of these leases will appear by a statement of the terms and conditions under which the tenant of the Cellerarius, at the time of the dissolution, held the farm called Eastgate Barns, with the Grange and Manor-house. He covenanted to deliver annually to the Cellerarius of the monastery thirty quarters of wheat, eighty-five quarters of malt, two quarters of white pease, four loads of straw; also to fetch ten cart loads of fish from the sea shore to the monastery; and, further, to feed and depasture two hundred sheep † for the use of the said monastery, &c. ‡ Should the quality or quantity of these provisions, thus to be delivered, happen, at any time, to be, in the opinion of the cellerarius, more than might be necessary for the service of the con-

* Spectabant sacristæ, cellerario, eleemosinario, & aliis officiariis, pro tempore existend' & annuatim per eos resp'e collect. fuerant in jure, et ad usum ejusdem monasterii. T. M.

† Vocat' Leyweathers.

‡ Firmæ Celerarii solvebant per ann. frumenti 737 summas; brasei ordei 561 summas; brasei avenæ 1422 summas. Suma vel summa is the quantity of eight bushels understood as a corn load. Cole, MS. vol. XLV. p. 61.

vent

vent in that year, in such case the tenant was to allow a certain payment or rent in money, by a rate valued and specified in the lease, according to the value, quality, and kind of those articles that could not be spent in the year.

There is a tradition of considerable antiquity, that Hencote received its appellation from its yielding rent to the monastery in provisions of hens, chickens, turkies, geese, ducks, eggs, pigeons, &c.

In addition to the numerous advantages derived from these sources, must also be considered their wood-sales, fines, the regalities of the franchise, services of their tenants, the oblations, obventions, and numerous perquisites of which no distinct account can be given; and, in taking a view of the whole, an intelligent writer says, that "the abbey of *St. Edmund's Bury* would be "worth at this present (about 1725) two hundred thousand "pounds yearly *." And from the unprecedented increase in the value of landed property, and every article of agricultural produce, during the last century, it may reasonably be estimated that the possession and privileges of the monastery would, at this time (1804), produce an annual income of at least five hundred thousand pounds †.

* History of Taxes, p. 190.

† An elucidation of this curious and interesting subject of the depreciation in the value of money, or, in other words, the increased value of land and produce, may be seen in the paper of Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn, Phil. Trans. part I. 1793; and, in that table, continued to the present time, in a learned and elegant little work lately published by Cadell and Davies, intitled, Egeria, p. 209 and 237.

The

The Cellerer's Office, in the Monastery of St. Edmund's Bury, was formerly adorned with a splendid window of painted glass. A description of this window, in Latin verse, introduces its subject by an exordium, describing the grandeur and magnificence of the Abbey in the following manner;

"Among the Icenian cities there is a very celebrated place, de-
"lightfully situated amid fruitful plains, and in a salubrious climate;
"where was an ancient monastery, eminent for its architecture and
"wealth, called after the name of Saint Edmund.

"There was a magnificent pile of many Kings, built of hewn
"stone, by the masterly hands of many ages, and elevated with
"lofty columns, ornamented with marble *; shewing, in the tex-
"ture of its vaulted roof, under mortal image, the countenances
"of Heaven †. Why should I recount the walls terminated with
"battlements? Why should I extol the towers with folding doors,
"and, in their turn, the many interior buildings, rearing, with
"united roofs, their pinnacles to the clouds? You might call it
"a beautiful city within a small space.

"Here, amongst various passages and intricate windings, in the
"large parlour, where formerly the cellarer dwelt, (thought to
"have been the keeper of the accounts,) a beautiful glass window,
"with two casements, remained whole; but falling into decay from
"its great antiquity, &c. &c."

* The Gothic Architects were accustomed to face their pillars with thin lamina of marble.

† The vaultings and intersections of the roofs were frequently ornamented with the heads of Angels and Cherubs.

ICONOTYPICON, OR, ICOTYPICON, BURIENSE.

Est locus Icenas inter celeberrimus urbes,
Frugiferis campis, et amœno in sidere lætus:
Quo fuit Edmundo*, structurâ opibusque superbum, * *fortasse Edmundi.*
Cœnobium antiquum, divi de nomine dictum.
Illic congeries multorum splendida regum,
Multarum ætatum manibus fabricata magistris
Quadrato ex lapide, et sublimibus alta columnis
Marmore conspicuis, laqueato in vertice textu
Sidereos referens mortali in imagine *vultus* †. † *fastus*
Mœnia quid memorem pinnis educta? quid arces
Offerrem bifores, penetralia multa vicissim,
In cœlum junctis iterantia culmina tectis?
Dixeris eximiam spatiis brevioribus urbem.
Hic aditus inter varios, variosque recessus,
Conclavi in magno quo cellerarius olim
Degebat, (custos rationum creditur esse)
Vitrea luminibus speciosa fenestra duobus
Integra constabat, longâ at peritura senectâ;
Quâ fuit à proavis depicta, nepotibus olim
Miranda, hæc series venturi præscia sæc'li.
Pingitur in geminâ spectanti ecclesia formâ;
Hæc vera, hæc falsa, et manifestis utraque signis.
Altiùs in summo partis super omne sinistræ
Elatus solio spatiatur Papa superbo,
Murice sanguineo rutilans, cui limbus in ora
Latus obit chlamydem gemmis operosus et auro:
Auro picta viget tota et sub tegmine vestis
Plumata ludens textura et consita circum
Margine gemmifero: triplicique coruscus in auro
Attollit sublime caput diademate regni
In specimen triplicis; cœlorum, terræ et abyssi.
Neve homo mortali videatur tegmine amictus,
Numinis indicium radii sua tempora cingunt.
Dextrâ triumphatis captivum comprimit orbem
Regibus illius, qui sub moderamine florens

Pingitur ; et lævâ rapit impiger undique dona.
Stat circumfusus multo molimine clerus,
Hinc monachi, hinc fratres, hinc cœnobiarcha, sacerdos,
Pontifices, villisque senex hirsutus eremi,
Quique admirantur Romana crepundia, (vanæ
Religionis opes,) globulosque, crucesque ferentes.
Solus abest, petaso qui fulget totus et ostro,
Cardine nomen habens ; quia tum decor ille per orbem
Esset adhuc nostrum, vel non bene cognitus orbe*. * *orbem.* MS.
Interea occludunt reges proceresque scabellum,
Suppliciterque colunt sceleratum poplite numen,
Sacræ et avaritiæ libent : fert iste superbum
Ex auro donum; nummis agit alter; at ille
Temone excussus regni diadema resignat.
Parte aliâ pensant auro, de morte redemptos
In cœlum ut referant proavos, *quos* † ergo sepulchris † *sed et sic M. P.*
Surgentes videas, sic stultæ illudere plebi.
Ante pedes lictor redimitus tempora sertis
Cædibus exultat, toto et furibundus in ore,
Hinc gladio hinc serrâ decerpit membra prioru'.
Nec procul astabat scelerati buccina verbi,
Insulsus frater, tonsis de more capillis,
Impia sacrilegis strepitans sua dogmata labris :
Cujus (ut attoniti) gravidum quasi numine pectus,
Mirantur comites palmisque oculisque supinis ;
Ore viri dæmon modulantibus impiger alis
Ludit, et egregii laudat mendacia vatis.
Hoc erat in superis. Humile' sed et altera partem
Occupat effigies penitus contraria primæ.
Cernitur apricis campis grandævus Helias,
Simplex fronte, comis nudus, pedes ipse, nec ullo
Elatus fastu, procerum consortia nulla,
Obsequium nullum; sacrum sed pectus anhelat
Acceptum cœlis verbum, purumque per omnes
Diffundit populos, pecus omne per avia quærit,
Dispersumque gregem domini sub ovile reducit,

Et

Et quibus erratum est longo docet ordine rebus;
Quæque tenenda via, et quæ sit fugienda vicissim.
* Non decreta hominum, jura aut papalia vitam
Largiri, aut trepidas revocari è faucibus umbras,
Infernis pretio, superâ vel in arce locari.
Unum iter et stadium, sacroque volumine totum
Hoc constare, ultraque nihil, citrave petendum.
Sic velut effatur, populique tenaciùs aures
Astringit, mentesque sacris ardoribus implet.
Tota sed intereà frendet Romana caterva,
(Ima tenens;) frater, monachus, simul atq; sacerdos:
Verberat hic terram pedibus, nasoque retento,
Fœtorem simulat sanctis procedere labris.
Obstruit ille aures, spernitque procaciùs ipsum
Divinum eloquium; dormit sed tertius expers
Curarum, et nihili pendit pia verba prophetæ.
Has tenet ambages pars illa sinistra fenestræ:
Provehor ad dextram, quà Paulus Apostolus omne
Quod super est spatium, Malachias possidet imum:
Elogium reffert affixum in vertice uterque:
Thessaliæ scripsit quod Paulus civibus olim
Perstringens oculis, sic voce manuque minatur:
Non remoranda dies fatorum maximus ille
Terminus, instanti sed ut Hesperus ecce præibit
Judicium hoc certum, summo de culmine primum
Decidet alma fides, passimque recessus in orbe
Religionis erat. Proles sed et ipsa nefandæ
Perditionis, adhuc latitat quæ in semine, adulta
Tum fiet manifesta palam, manifestus et ipse
Impietatis homo, summum contrarius ipsum
Qui super effertur numen, super omne quod usquam
Vel cultum est dictumve Deus: quin percitus æstu
Insano; templo ille Dei sedet impius, instar

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* Nulla moranda hominu' decreta nec esse sub astris
Compita cœlestis regni, monet omnibus unum
Esse salutis iter, sacroq' volumine solum
Hoc constare, ultraq; nihil citraq; petendu'.

[*These four lines are in the margin of the* Coll. Bur. *and appear to be a different reading of the five above.*]

Numinis, atque deum stupefacto se exhibet orbi.
Scribitur ensiferi * tota hæc narratio Pauli.
  Vertice terque caput circum Antichristus habetur
Adscriptum Papæ ; foret ut manifesta protervis,
Bacchantem ludens pateris Ecclesia mundum.
  Subsidet inferiùs Malachias canus, Eliæ
E regione situs, divini et gratus Amoris
Nuncius errantes per plurima sæcula gentes.
Sic pius alloquitur, scriptis pulchro ordine verbis ;
Magna dies veniet seris volvenda sub annis
Quâ terræ centrum cœli cum vertice miscet,
Omnipotens Dominus, rerumque à cardine totus
Corruet horrendis arreptus ab ignibus orbis.
Sed prius, exigui memor ille salutis ovilis ;
En ait, ipse sinu vobis Legatus Helias
Adfuerit nostro : patrumque tumentia mitis
Pectora mulcebit natos adversus, et ipsos
Ad patres placidâ compostos pace reducet,
Ne veniens sternam totas anathemate terras.
Hæc ait et digito præsentem ostendit Heliam
(Agmine disjunctum Romano) omnemque sub illâ
Effigie clerum, purgati semina verbi
Undique per populos fundentem : Ecclesia tandem
Antiquam reparet, solio pereunte, nitorem.
  Hæc pictor vitreis concluserat omnia formis,
Cumque suprema dies aderat, qua funditus imo
Esset ab invitâ jam jam perdenda bipenni,
Tot † regum tam illustre decus, domus omnis Eoæ ‡ ‡ *Sic.*
Gentis honos, tremulo et starent sub vertice turres,
Verbere nutantes § crebro, gemitumque ferentes § *Verbera mutantes,* MS.
In cœlum terramque simul : partesque per omnes
Culmina corruerent laxo in compagine fulcro :
Historiam hanc totam cladis videt ipse minister,
Miratusque animo, magnâ comitante catervâ
Pictorem accivit ; tricisque fideliter ipse ‖, ‖ *Ipsis.* MS.
Plurima descripsit viva exemplaria primo,
Hactenùs in populo spectanda frequentiùs illo.
Et mihi sæpe fidem, qui viderat omnia, strixit.

* St. Paul is generally painted with a sword, as having been beheaded with one.
‡ Bury is in the Eastern part of England.

This

This Poem, said to be among Sir Henry Spelman's MSS. and supposed to be written by him, is here transcribed from the Collectanea Buriensis; of the exordium a literal translation is just given. The substance of the remainder is as follows:— On this window was painted in a prophetic representation the true and false church, each distinguished by appropriate marks. On the upper part of the left compartment the Pope is seated on a splendid throne, robed in gold and purple, crowned with his triple diadem, the token of his threefold kingdom, Heaven, Earth, and Hell; and, lest he should appear a mortal, rays, the indication of Divinity, surround his temples. With his right hand he grasps the subjected world with its conquered kings, and with his left eagerly receives gifts. He is surrounded by the Church; Monks, Friars, Abbots, Priests, Anchorets, and those who admire the Roman trifles, bearing globes and crosses: the Cardinal alone is absent, because this order was then unknown. Kings and Peers kneel before his footstool; one presents a splendid gift, another money, and a third driven from his government resigns his crown. On another part they are paying gold, that their ancestors, redeemed from the dead, may enter Heaven, who therefore are seen rising from the sepulchres. At his feet stands an executioner crowned with garlands and exulting in slaughter: near him a stupid friar preaching his impious dogmas; those around him, astonished, admire his inspiration with uplifted hands and eyes; an active demon flutters around his head, and applauds the lying prophet. Lower down, on the other side, is seen the aged Elias, in the open fields, on foot, uncovered, without pomp, without attendants, without flattery; he gives to the people the pure word received from Heaven, and brings back the erring flock to the fold of his Lord; he points out the causes of error, and declares the Scriptures to be the only way to salvation. The Romanists, lower down, oppose; one beats the ground with his feet, and, with his nose turned up, pretends that a stench proceeds from the holy lips; another stops his ears; and a third disregards the words of the Prophet. On the right stands the Apostle Paul, and below him Malachi, each with a label, and the passage from the Epistle to the Thessalonians, foretelling the falling away of True Religion and the appearing of the Man of Sin. At the top, over the triple head of Antichrist, ascribed to the Pope, that a deceiving Church should make the world drunk with lascivious cups. Below, the hoary Malachi the ambassador of divine love foretells that the great day shall come, when the Almighty Lord shall overwhelm the world with flames; but first that a little flock shall be saved, and points to Elias, and under that form, a church separated from the Roman and giving the people the doctrines of a Reformed word. This was all painted in glass. But when this Monastery, the illustrious honour of so many kings, and the ornament of the East, was destroyed, the man employed sent for a painter, who took an exact copy of it; and he, who had seen the whole, assured me of its truth.

A Letter

A Letter of Sir Henry Spelman to Abp. Usher *.

" Right Reverend and most worthy Lord, *Westminster, May* 18, 1621.

Though I be always tyed to reiterate my thankfulness to your Lordship for your favours here in England, yet is it not fitt to trouble you too often with letters only of compliment; and other occasion I heitherto had not any, save what in Michaelmas terme last I wrote unto you, touching the monument in Bury Abby, which the cutter going then in hand with, came to me about, as directed by your Lordship. I was bold to stay him for the time; and signified by those letters, that I thought much exception might be taken to the credit of the monument; for that both the ends of the upper labell pictured in the glass, over the head of Antichrist, are strecht out so far as they rest not in the glass, but run on either way on the strong pillars, which, as your Lordship knows, could not possibly be so in the window itself. How it cometh to pass I do not know, whether by the rashness of the painter (not heeding so light a matter, as he might take it), or that, perhaps, those which in the picture seem to be pillars of the window, were but painted pillars in the glass itself, and so the whole window but one pannel. I cannot determine this doubt; but out of all doubt such a picture there was, and taken out exactly by a painter then; as a right honest old gentleman, who saw it standing in the abby window, and the painter that took it out, did often tell me about forty years since; affirming the picture now at the cutter's to be the true pattern thereof; but, at that time, my understanding not to make this doubt, if I had, he perhaps could have resolved it me. For my own part, though I think it fitter in this respect not to be published, as doth also Sir H. Bourgchier, yet I leave it to your direction; which the cutter hitherto expecteth.

So remembering my service most humbly to your Lordship, and desiring your blessing, I rest your Lordship's to be commanded,

HENRY SPELMAN."

Archbishop Usher, who was a warm antagonist against Popery in every shape, was engaged to prove the Pope to be Antichrist. To help forward this disquisition, Sir Henry Spelman, in 1621, lent his helping hand; acquainting him with a picture of Antichrist in one of the painted glass windows of Bury Abbey, a print of which, for the *dilucidation* of this important affair, as it was judged at that time, was then preparing, as it seems, by Sir Henry's letter to that Primate, in Parr's Life of him, p. 78, among the Letters. Cole's MSS. vol. XLV. p. 26.

* Collect. Bariens.

CHAP-

CHAPTER V.

MONASTIC OFFICERS.

Number of the Establishment — Abbot — Dress — Distinctions — Duties — Prior — Sub Prior — Cellerarius — Privileges — Sacrist — Seal — Magister operum — Camerarius — Thesaurarius — Sub Camerarius — Refectorarius — Eleemosynarius — Pitantiarius — Hostilarius — Infirmarius — Præcentor — Sub Præcentor — Feretrarius — Vestiarius — Coquinarius — Portarius, Janitor — Porcarius — Contribution of Officers — Alii Obedientiarii.

THE number of monks and officers, like that of all similar bodies, was fluctuating and various. The full establishment appears to have been eighty monks, fifteen chaplains attendant on the Abbot and chief Officers, about one hundred and eleven servants in the various offices, and chiefly residing within the walls of the monastery; and upwards of twenty * priests officiating in the several chapels, chauntries, and monastic appendages in the town. The Abbot was termed supreme, and all the others obediential or *obedientiarii.*

* A writer quoted in Collect. Buriens. says *forty.*

Abbas,

Abbas, Abbot. The supreme and entire government of the monastery was vested in the Abbot; and in all things not explicitly defined by the rule of the Order, respecting the internal regulations of the house, his will was the law, and his determination final *.

The Mitred Abbots, of which rank was the Abbot of Bury, were distinguished from Bishops by some small variations in their official ornaments. The mitres of Bishops were adorned with gold and precious stones †. By an ordinance of Pope Clement the Fourth, those of Abbots were embroidered with gold only. The Abbots also carried the crosier in the right hand; which the Bishops did in the left.

These pastoral crooks were sometimes barely curled, sometimes more ornamented, and like maces rather than crosiers.

The public dress of an Abbot was also nearly episcopal; consisting of the dalmatic, or seamless coat of Christ, signifying holy and immaculate piety; of the mitre, emblematic of Christ the head of the church; of the crosier, or pastoral cane; of the gloves, which, because occasionally worn or laid aside, typified the concealment of good works, for shunning vanity, and the demonstration of them for edification; of the ring, as Christ was the spouse of the church; and of the sandals, because, as the foot was neither covered nor naked, so the Gospel should neither be concealed, nor rest on earthly benefit ‡. Their parliamentary robes were a gown, hood, and cassock.

* Bernard, in Dev. Vie Mon. vol. I. p. 226. Fosbrooke, vol. I. p. 117.

† Preface to Tanner's Notit. Monast.

‡ Rab. Maures de Instit. Cleric. lib. I. c. xxii. p. 574. Fosbrooke, Monachism, vol. I. p. 119. 122.

Abbots

Abbots rode with splendid caparisons and numerous retinues. They had the title "Lord Abbot," and styled themselves by "Di-" vine permission," or "by the grace of God."

In the monastery of St. Edmund, the Abbots were elected to the office by the members of the convent, and consecrated by an Archbishop or Bishop; but, being exempt from the episcopal authority and jurisdiction of the diocesan, did no homage, nor made profession of ecclesiastical obedience, except to the see of Rome itself, on receiving confirmation; and the convent granted the new Abbot a sum of money, to defray the expences of his journey and the enormous fees exacted upon this occasion by the papal see *.

Whenever the Abbot appeared, all were to bow or incline to him as he passed. In every conference when the Abbot was present, the Prior alone was to sit by his side, and no other person till his order for that purpose was given.

The Abbot, with the chaplains whom he shall chuse out of the convent, might sleep in his own chamber; and his bed was not to be transferred from his chamber on account of any one under royal or metropolitan rank.

The Abbot was never to be alone, one of his chaplains (*bajulus*, or domestic monk †) always being in attendance with him.

* Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 299. See chap. iv. § 7. p. 170.

† Bajuli, table companions, and privy counsellors. Newcome, St. Alban's, part. ii. p. 243.

The monks delivered any thing to the Abbot on their knees, kissing his hand, if he were seated; but, if standing, without genuflection; if he gave a command, the monk who received it was immediately to kneel. A monk, on coming into his presence, was first to say *Benedicite* *, and then to relate the cause of his coming; and he was not to sit or depart without the Abbot's leave.

The great duty of the Abbot was to be an eminent example in the observation of the rule of the Order †.

Their subordinate duties, to confer the lesser Orders; to give benediction; to consecrate churches, cemeteries, and other monastic ecclesiastical appendages; to appoint, and, if necessary, depose the obediential officers, and the Priors of dependant cells; to hold visitations when necessary, in which they received the homages of their tenants, corrected abuses, and enacted statutes for the regulation of the nuns and ecclesiastics subject to their jurisdiction ‡.

The *Prior* was next in dignity to the Abbot, and assisted him in the discharge of his duties. During the vacancies, and in the absence of the Abbot, the Prior governed the convent; and was then in mitred abbeys, by courtesy, addressed Lord Prior §.

At *St. Edmund's Bury* the Prior was allowed a chaplain, two servants, two palfreys, a baggage horse, and two others; and

* Mabillon, Annales Benedictini, iii. 244. Fosbrooke, vol I. p. 83, 84. 87—114.

† Reg. Benedict. c. 65.

‡ Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 299. Fosbrooke, vol. I. p. 119—125.

§ Fuller, Church History, b. VI. p. 284.

had

had a splendid and extensive apartment, as may be inferred from his entertaining King Henry the Sixth and his attendants *.

The *Sub Prior*, appointed for the ease and convenience of the Prior, to assist him in the general discharge of his duties, and to supply his place and exercise his authority and power in his absence †. The Sub Prior had also some peculiar duties appropriated to his office. He was to go every night at midnight to every monk's chamber-door; to call upon him by name, to see if any were stolen out in pursuit of unlawful business ‡. He saw the interior doors locked, as the cellar door, refectory door, &c. and kept the keys of these doors till five in the morning, and then re-delivered them to the porters. The visitation of the infirmary was his peculiar care; and, like the Prior, he could punish the servants, but not add to their number or dissmiss them.

The Sub Prior's chamber was over the dormitory door, that he might hear if any stirred or went out.

In some of the larger monasteries, a third and even a fourth Prior was sometimes appointed.

Cellerarius, the Cellarer or bursar, who may be said to have been the father of the whole society, had the charge of every thing relating to the food of the monks, provided all the provisions for the convent, dispensed the daily allowances, and had the superintendance of the refectory, kitchen, cellar, bake-house, &c. §

* Lib. Alb. MS. Harl. Bibl. 1005. p. 44.

† Fuller, Church History, b. VI. 284.

‡ Fosbrooke, vol. I. p. 151.

§ Fosbrooke, vol. I. p. 156. Blomefield, vol. II. p. 440.

The qualifications of a good cellarer are thus described: "The "brethren should have a cellarer, not a wine-biber, not proud, not "dull, not prodigal; but of discreet manners, and fearing God; "who faithfully distributes the allowances, and diligently performs "his duty, in such manner that none of the brethren may have cause "of sorrow or complaint. To him also the care of the bake-house "is to be committed, which he is to superintend with such "vigilant attention, that the servants there employed may not "injure the brethren by wasting the provisions, by privately stealing "them, or by living in any negligent manner; he is also to take "care that these servants be properly chosen, and fit for their "office. In the same manner also he is to superintend and take "charge of the cooks *."

Fuller says, "this was a place of more power and profit than "the name may seem to import; and that these cellarers were "brave blades, much affecting secular gallantry; for I find it "complained of, that they used to swagger with their swords by "their sides like lay gentlemen †."

In *St. Edmund's Bury* the *Cellerarius* was "*Secundus Pater in* "*Monasterio* ‡;" had splendid and extensive apartments and grounds; and the privileges of the office were singular and profitable. The ancient customs of the *Cellerarius* were these §: he had a messuage

* Spelman, Glossary, p. 131.

† Fuller, Church History, b. VI. p. 285.

‡ Spelman, Glossary, p. 131. — Registers. — Mon. Ang. — Collect. Buriens.

§ Mon. Ang. vol. I. p. 300. Lib. Consuetud. MS. Earl Cornwallis, and T. M.

and

and barns near the stream *(fontem) Scurum* *, where he solemnly held his court for the trial of robbers and all pleas *(placitis)* and complaints; and there he put his men in pledge, enrolled and made annual renewals, whence he drew the same profit as the Præfect did at the *Portmanatt*. Which messuage, with the adjoining garden, now belonging to the infirmerer, was the mansion of Beodric, who was the ancient Lord of this town, whence also the town was called *Beodriswoorth*. The lands, of which he was lord, are now held by the cellarer. That which now is called *Averland* was the land of his husbandmen. There were also of this estate thirty times *(trecies* †*)* thirty acres of land, that are now fields belonging to this town, the services of which, when the town was made free, were divided into two parts; the Sacrist or Præfect might take the quit-rent *(liberum census)*, *viz.* for any acre two pence; the cellarer had the ploughings and other services, *viz.* the ploughing of one rood for any acre, without victuals, which custom is still observed ‡. He had also folds, where all the townsmen (town tenants) were bound to fold their sheep, except the Seneschal, who had a fold of his own: this custom is still observed. He had also *Averpenni*, *viz.* for every thirty acres, two pence, which custom was changed

* This is supposed to be near the water and place now called Eastgate Bridge. This supposition is supported by these allusions in the Collect. Buriens: "Scarum "Walle Street et ibidem grangia cum magnis januis. Scarum Street juxta pratum "cellerarii. In vico orientali juxta placeam cellerarii."

† "Tricesies," MS. Dom. Cornwallis, and T. M.

‡ It was a usual custom for tenants to be bound to plough their landlord's grounds, assist in getting in the harvest, and do various other agricultural business, as a part of their rent. Sometimes they used their own horses and implements, and sometimes those of the landlord; in some cases they fed at their own cost, and in others the landlord provided them victuals.

before

before the death of Abbot Hugh, when Gilbert de Alveden * was cellarer.

The townsmen (tenants) also, when the cellarer ordered them, went to *Laginheth,* and brought a carriage load *(averagium)* of eels of *Southreye,* but often returned empty, and so were harrassed without any advantage to the cellarer; wherefore they agreed among themselves, that hereafter for each thirty acres they should pay one penny *per annum,* and the tenants remain at home; but these lands are now so divided, that it is scarcely known by whom this rent ought to be paid, so that although the cellarer in one year took twenty-seven pence, he does not now receive one penny.

The cellarer also had authority over the highways from the town, so that no one might dig chalk or clay without his leave. He also compelled the fullers of the town to supply him with bags to carry his salt; otherwise he refused them the use of the water, and seized any webs he found there. These customs are still observed. Whoever purchased corn, or any things, of the cellarer, might go out of the gates of the town without paying toll, by which means the cellarer could obtain a higher price than others. This is still also observed.

The cellarer alone had the privilege of a free bull in the fields of the town †.

* "Elvedone," MS. Dom. Cornwallis, and T. M.

† Libertatum Tauri & Apri; Liberum Taurum & Aprum; a vexatious privilege of Lords of manors. The free bull and boar went unrestrained over the tenants grounds and meadows, and fed where they pleased. Sir John Cullum, Hawsted, p. 85. Thoroton, Nottinghamshire, p. 42.

Also,

Also, when any assigned any land of burgage tenure as an alms to the convent, that land was from thenceforth free from *Hodgonel* (in another MS. *Hoggonell*); and chiefly if it was given to the cellarer, on account of the dignity of his office, because he is the second father in the monastery; or on account of the reverence of the convent, because the condition of those who provide our food ought to be the most favourable.

[Also the cellarer warrants *(debet warrantizare)* to the tenants of his courts, that they should be always free from all scot and talliage *.]

The cellarer also could take all the dung *(sterquilinia)* that he wanted from every street, except from before the doors of those who had *Averland* [for there they only might collect and have the dung *(fimum)*. This custom, by degrees, fell into disuse about the time of Abbot Hugh, till that when Dyonisius and Roger de Hevigham were cellarers; who, desirous of restoring this ancient custom, seized some carts *(redas)* of the burgesses, loaded with dung, and had them unloaded; but, on the complaint of the burgesses, each of these tenants was permitted to collect his dung, and sell it when and where he pleased †.]

The cellarer had also a privilege in the market of this town, that he, and his officers, should have the pre-emption of all provisions for the use of the convent, if the Abbot was not at home.

The officers *(emptores)* of the Abbot, or of the cellarer, who came first into the market, were first to buy; whether these

* MS. Dom. Cornwallis, and T. M. The passages within the brackets are in Lord Cornwallis's MS. but not in the Monasticon.

† Ibidem.

without

without those, or those without these; but, if both came together, the preference was given to the officers of the Abbot. In the herring season the officers of the Abbot always paid one halfpenny less than other purchasers for an hundred herrings; as did also the cellarer and his officers.

[Also, if a load of fish, or any other food, came first into the court, or into the market, without discharging the toll, the cellarer or his officers might buy the whole load, and take his own *thelonium*. Abbot Sampson commanded his officers to give place to the cellarer and his officers, saying, that he had rather want himself than that the convent should. This is still observed; and the conduct of the officers to each other is regulated by so much respect, that, if there be not enough for both, they agree to divide what there is; and thus between the head and the members, the father and his sons, harmony and peace are preserved *.]

The cellarer at Bury had under him a sub-cellarer, and many attendants and officers.

Sacrista, Sacrist, sometimes *Sacristan* and *Sextyn*. This officer filled a place of considerable trust and importance. He had the charge of the *sacra*, all the consecrated church plate and vessels, the vestments, books, utensils, and every thing necessary in the performance of divine service, the bells, banners, and all ornaments of the church. He received all the masses, fees, oblations, and gifts made at, or for, the great altar; and all the other altars and images of saints; and all the legacies and donations that were made for the support and ornament of the buildings and utensils.

* MS. Dom. Cornwallis, and T. M.

To

To the superintendance of the sacrist was submitted the construction, reparation, beautifying, and enlarging the churches, and various buildings of the monastery; particularly those of the Abbot below the court; except the larder and other houses near the garden *.

He also provided candles, made delivery of wax (candles) every week to the Abbot and other Officers, and had the entire charge of lighting the church and chapels. He prepared the sacred vessels for the celebration of the sacrament, and provided the wine for the officiating ministers and wafers for the communicants; he superintended all burials, and was to take care that no nettles or weeds were permitted to grow in the church-yard; that no horse, or other animal, frequented it, and that no stable should be built there †.

The sacrist was sometimes secretary, auditor, and chancellor of the convent.

At *St. Edmund's Bury* this officer always acted as archdeacon of the exempt jurisdiction ‡; had the probate of wills within the same §; and had much authority in the town ‖; as it, and its

* Mon. Angl. vol. I. p. 298.

† Fosbrooke, Monachism, vol. I. p. 167.

‡ The Abbot appointed a *Decanus Christianitatis*, or Dean of the spiritual jurisdiction within the four crosses, exempt from all episcopal jurisdiction. Since the dissolution it is united to the archdeaconry of Sudbury; and the patent of the commissary of that archdeaconry runs — "To the archdeaconry of Sudbury and town of "*Bury St. Edmund*." Blomefield, vol. II. p. 475.

§ The wills of the neighbourhood of Bury were generally proved at the church of Fornham St. Martin, as the Abbot of Bury would not suffer the Archdeacon of Sudbury, or his deputy, to exercise any act of authority within this town. Sir John Cullum, Hawsted, p. 16.

‖ Mon. Angl. vol. I. p. 293.

appertenances, were parts of the monastic possessions peculiarly allotted to the sacrist. The value and importance of this officer were so great that he was sometimes called Lord Sacrist. The more servile duties were performed by a sub-sacrist.

The seal of the sacrist's office was oblong, a wolf under a tree, holding in his paw St. Edmund's head *.

In some convents a part of the duties of this office were discharged by a

Magister Operum, Master of the Works, who examined into the state of the buildings, and had the charge of keeping them in repair †.

Camerarius, Chamberlain, kept the "keys of the treasury, issuing "out and receiving all considerable sums of money; in which notion "the Chamberlain of London holdeth his name ‡." In the convent of Bury this department of the office appears to have been executed by a

Thesaurarius, Treasurer, who received all the rents that were common to the monastery, and paid all the common expences §. And the duties of the officer called the

* Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. I. p. 203.

† Mon. Angl. vol. I. p. 148.

‡ Fuller, Church History, b. VI. p. 284 Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 440.

§ MS. Collect. T. M.

Camerarius,

Camerarius were to superintend and take the conduct of every thing that concerned the cloathing, lodging, and cleanliness of the monks *. He had the entire charge of the dormitory, and was to have it swept once in a year, and the straw of the beds changed; and the cloaths were not to be removed from bed to bed without his leave. He was to provide the various articles of bedding; the ropes, stools, and other furniture of the dormitory; and razors, soap and towels for shaving.

The cloathing of the convent was under his controul, and the taylors and shoemakers were his servants; as were also those employed to shave the monks; and those who attended the bath. The monks were to bathe by his direction; and, in his absence, the *Sub Camerarius*, with the consent of the prior, could grant the use of the bath.

The *Sub Camerarius* was to assist in the various duties of this department; to permit none of the menders to go into the dormitory unless he was with them. The cloaths were distributed by him, and the old ones were in his custody. He was also to light and extinguish the candles in the dormitory at twilight and daybreak. *Camerarii duo* appear in the Collect. Buriens.

Refectorarius, Refectioner, or Comptroller of the Refectory, took care of the cups, pots, table-linen, mats, and all the furniture of the common dining hall †. He was to direct its cleaning, and to provide straw and rushes to spread on the floor under the feet of

* Mon. Angl. vol. I. p. 291. Fosbrooke, vol. I. p. 190.

† Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. II. p. 441. Fosbrooke, vol. I. p. 186.

the brethren; to weigh and distribute the cheese, and superintend all the concerns of the refectory.

Eleemosynarius, Almoner, distributed the alms and charitable donations of the convent to pilgrims, travellers, and the poor who assembled at the gate; for which purpose he had an office called the almonry *. He also made the distributions on the founder's day, and other obits and anniversaries. He and his servants were to attend at the dinner of the Abbot and Monks to receive the alms. He was not to collect through the tables; but if any thing was handed to him, he might take it, and devote it to alms. When the convent left the refectory, he could go round the tables, and destine to alms the drink which remained of the charity. He was to purchase, annually, against Christmas, cloth and shoes, to distribute to widows, orphans, and especially the poor clergy, and those whom he thought most in need. He was to place mats in the choir, &c. in the chapter, cloister, parlour, and stairs of the dormitory; and to provide many other small articles.

Pitantiarius, Pietancer, who distributed the pittances or pietances, which were small portions or allowances of meals upon particular occasions, over and above the commons or stated allotment of provisions †. "*Cum tribus bonis pitanciis*, with three good dishes of "meat, called *pitancia's*, from the word piety; and thence also "called *misericordia's*, now called in colleges *exceedings* ‡." A char-

* Mon. Angl. vol I. p. 298. Fosbrooke, vol. I. p. 174. Tanner, Notit. Monast. præf.

† Mon. Angl. vol. I. p. 298. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. I. p. 253, note [d].

‡ Gunter, Peterborough, p. 297.

ter

ter of King John in some degree explains this office. John D. G. &c. * Know, &c. &c. the manor of *Mildehall*, which manor we have granted as property to St. Edmund, so that the sacrist, for the time being, shall, from the rent of the altar, pay annually twelve shillings to the hospital of St. Saviour, without the walls of St. Edmund, &c. for the use of the poor, &c. and forty shillings for the refection of the monks, who, in those days, celebrate divine offices for the dead; which refection is called *pitancia*. The pietancer had a small allotment of revenue, but the income of the office was chiefly derived from the oblations of the charitable.

Hostilarius, Hospitaller, or Hosteler, whose duty it was to provide for the reception and entertainment of strangers, pilgrims, and visitants †. He had an apartment called the *hostray*, which he was to keep well furnished with beds, seats, tables, towels, and all similar articles; as also with bread, beer and other necessary viands. The hospitaller was to introduce the visitors to the Abbot and Convent, conduct them to the refectory, church, and cloisters, and procure for them every thing necessary to their accommodation according to their rank and character. *Hostilarius exterior*, and *Hostilarius interior*, are mentioned ‡.

Infirmarius, Infirmerer, or Curator of the Infirmary, was intrusted with the superintendance of the diseased monks §; who were re-

* Rot. Cart. de ann. 1. Regis Joh. p. 2. n. 115. Spelman, Glossary, p. 461.

† Mon. Angl. vol. I. p. 298. Fosbrooke, Monachism, vol. I. p. 139, and vol. II. p. 163.

‡ Collect. T. M.

§ Mon. Angl. vol. I. p. 298. Fosbrooke, Monachism, vol. I. p. 180. Reyner, Appendix, p. 238.

moved

moved from the dormitory into the infirmary. He had the charge of providing every thing necessary for their accommodation and relief; he was to administer all their meals, and sprinkle holy water after complin (the evening prayer) upon their beds. The care and management of the funerals belonged to this office; and after the washing and removal of a deceased brother, the infirmarer was to order the place where he lay to be washed and cleaned, and hav it fresh strewed with straw or rushes.

The Abbot was to appoint such a person infirmarer as might be able, in case of sudden accident, to receive the confession of the sick. .

Præcentor *, Precentor, or Chauntor, had the care and chief direction of the choral service; presided over the singers, choristers, and organist; and instructed the monks to sing, chaunt, and read. His place was in the middle of the choir, on the right side; he began the chaunt first, and corrected all mistakes and irregularities; he made provisions for writing the tables of the monks, keeping the *Liber-diurnalis* or Chapter-book, reading the martyrology, and announcing the anniversaries; he arranged the processions, superintended the education and correction of the novices, and had charge of the books, presses, and furniture of the choir. He also provided parchment and ink for the writers, colours for illuminating, and materials for binding the books.

Sub Præcentor, assisted in the general discharge of the præcentor's

* Mon. Angl. vol. I. p. 299 and 147. Fosbrooke, Monachism, vol. I. p. 159. Reyner, Appendix, p. 235.

duties,

duties, kept the keys of the lockers that held the singing books, and supplied the place of the præcentor in his absence *.

Feretrarius, Shrine-keeper, had the charge of the shrine of St. Edmund, with its appendages and decorations †.

Vestiarius, Vestry-keeper, or Sexton, took care of the robes and sacred vestments used in the celebration of divine service. He had his servants to assist him in the discharge of his office.

Coquinarius, Kitchener or Master Cook ‡, superintended all the concerns of the kitchen; and seems to have had considerable authority in regulating the food of the convent, as it may be gathered from statutes that this officer sometimes distressed the monks by giving them always the same dishes §.

Portarius; Janitor. The porter was an officer of considerable trust, "to know what and when guests (especially at the postern) were "to be admitted;" and had a deputy always in attendance with him, that the gate might not be left when the porter went to announce visitors, &c. ‖ He had an apartment for his lodging in or near the gate, or principal entrance.

* Fosbrooke, Monachism, vol. I. p. 162.

† Collect. T. M.

‡ Fosbrooke, Monachism, vol. I. p. 163.

§ Cap. Gen. Northampt. Ann. 1444, c. 5. de Obedientiariis.

‖ Fuller, Church History, b. VI. p. 285; and Fosbrooke, Monachism, vol. I. p. 183.

The

The Liber Album mentions the *janitor* at the great gate, and a *portarius* for another *; but Tanner notes that the terms *janitor* and *portarius* might be confused; and in the preface to the Notitia Monastica it is observed, that the office of the *portarius* was most probably distinct from the common *janitor*; because in the Monasticon there is an account of three persons promoted from this office to the abbacy †. There is also mentioned *Janitor, Portæ Magnæ in Curiâ, & etiam de Aleclenegate* ‡.

Porcarius, Swine-herd §. This office was here held by serjeantry. The profit of it was the "*fructus de caudâ*;" perhaps the offal, or, perhaps, the dung of the pigs fed in the house. This office was assigned to the convent by the charter of Abbot Richard ‖.

The *porcarius* had two servants *(duo servientes)* and six helpers *(sex ministri.)*

The following account of the contributions, made, by the chief officers, to defray the expences of a brother at the university of Oxford, may assist in forming an idea of the comparative wealth and rank conferred by the several offices in the convent.

* MS. Bibl. Harl. n. 1005. f. 44.

† Mon. Angl. vol. I. p. 932.

‡ Collect. Buriens.

§ MS. Bibl. Harl. 743. f. 210. Fosbrooke, vol. I. p. 195.

‖ MS. T. M.

Contributio

Contributio Officiariorum facta pro Fratre E. Bromefield, A. D. 1373, incepturo in Theologia, Oxon *.

	s.	*d.*
De *Thesaurario*	60	
— *Sacrista*	50	
— *Celerario*	50	
— *Camerario*	20	
— *Hospitelario*	20	
— *Eleemosynario*	20	
— *Ferætrariis*	10	
— *Pitanciario*	10	
— *Infirmario*	10	
— *Hostil. int. et ext.*	10	
— *Vestiario*	3	4
— *Subsacrista*	1	2
— *Præcentore*	1	2
— *Subcelerario*	1	
£.	13	6 2

It is not an easy, or perhaps now a possible task, to collect an accurate list of all the "*Obedientiarii.*" The following have been gathered from several authentic documents †.

Fuller says, "Expect not of me a list of those mean officers in the "abbey, whose employment was not so base as their names bar-

* MS. Collect. T. M.

† Collect. Buriens. Collect. T. M. MS. de Consuetud. of Lord Cornwallis. Fuller, Church History, b. VI. p. 287. Fosbrooke, Monachism, vol. I. *passim.* MS. Bibl. Harl. n. 743. f. 209.

" barous, and of English extraction: such were, *Coltonarius*, Cutler;
" *Cupparius, Potagiarius, Scutellarius Aulæ, Salsarius, Portarius,*
" *Carcetarius Cellerarii; Pelliparius*, Parchment provider; *Brasinarius*,
" Maltster. All these appeared at the *Hali-mote*, or Holy Court of
" the Cellerer."

Several of the superior officers appear to have had, in their own departments, inferior officers of the same description and name as those of the general convent. Those mentioned by Fuller are not all there were under the Cellerer: there were —

Armiger Cellerarii, Esquire of the Cellerer.
Clericus Cellerarii, Clerk.
Garciones Cellerarii, Footmen.
Janitor ad portam Cellerarii, Porter.
Cochleatorius, Spoon Officer, to assist the Cellerer in gathering up the spoons after dinner.
Custos Domorum Abbatis, Abbot's House-keeper.
Custos Aquarum * *D. Abb.* Abbot's Bath or Pond-keeper.
Claviger Aulæ, Turnkey or Porter of the Hall.
Seneschallus Aulæ, Steward of the Hall.
Coci quinque †, Cooks, five.
Cocus in Angulo, Scullion, perhaps.
Focarius.
Subcoci quinque, Under Cooks, five.
Discarii, Dishers.

* Cole, in his MS, supposes this may be a mistake, and that it might be *Custos Equorum* D. Abb. — Master of Horse to the Lord Abbot.

† Unus d. Coci fuit appropriatus Conventui, temp. D. Abb. Will. Jan. 18, 1336. Collect. Buriens.

Emptores

Emptores duo, Buyers two, perhaps House-stewards.
Emptor Casei, Cheese-buyer.
Custos Ostii Coquinæ, Kitchen Door-keeper.
Custos Parlorii, Parlour-keeper.
Pistores tres, Bakers three.
Servientes duo in Pistrino, two Servants in the Bakehouse.
Subministri quatuor ibidem, four Under Servants in ditto.
Pincernæ duo, Butlers two, or Cupbearers.
Panetarius, perhaps *Panitorius,* Pantryman.
Lardenarius, Larder-keeper.
Squenelarii, Basket-keepers.
Mustarder.
Custos Ostii Refectorii, Door-keeper of the Refectory.
Subministri in Refectorio, under Servants in the Refectory.
Potstike.
Lotrix Refectorii, Laundress of the Refectory.
Famula, Maid Servant.
Ancilla ipsius, her Girl.
Magister Serviens, Chief Servant, perhaps Steward, or Head Waiter.
Serviens Monach. extraneor. i. e. *in nigrâ Hostellariâ,* Servant of the Stranger Monks in the black Hostrey.
Servientes duo S. E.
Servientes duo Vestiarii, two Servants of the Vestry-keeper.
Serviens Pitantiarii, Servant of the Pietancer.
Serviens Infirmariæ, Servant of the Infirmary.
Cocus Infirmariæ, Infirmary Cook.
Janitor Infirmariæ, Door-keeper of the Infirmary.
Serviens itinerarius, vel Bedellus, Beadle or Serjeant.
Serviens in Eleemosynaria, Servant in the Almonry.
Aurifrixa, Gold Fringe-maker.

Magister Cereorum, Keeper of Wax *.
Scriptor, Writer.
Custos Cunei, Keeper of the Mint.
Monetarius, Moneyer or Mint Master.
Cambiator, Exchanger.
Duo Custodes, Keepers, two.
Duo Assaisiatores, Assayers, two.
Cunditor.
Hortolarii duo, Gardeners, two.
Gardinarius, probably a synonyme for the last officer.
Molendinarius, Miller.
Garcio Molyndinarii, Miller's boy.
Braciator, Maltster, or Brewer.
Septem servientes de Sartrinâ, perhaps *Sutrina*, taylor's shop, *viz.*
Sutor, Sewer, perhaps Cobler or Mender.
Pelliparius, Furrier.
Scissores duo pannorum nigrorum, two Cutters of black cloth.
Lotor, Washer.
Balneatores duo, Bath-keepers, two.
Plumbarius, Plumber.
Carpentarius, Carpenter.
Cementarius, Joiner.
Cressetarius Capellæ, Lighters of the Cressets.
Portitores duo, Carriers, or Porters, or Collectors, two.
Portitor agnorum †,

* Probably of wax for the purpose of sealing the various deeds and leases, of which considerable quantities must have been used.

† Perhaps Carriers of Standards, with the figure of the "*Agnus Dei*," in the processions.

Nonnæ

Custos Ostii viridi, Keeper of the Green Door.
Custos Vineæ, Vineyard-keeper.
Surardus, vel Lurardus.
Bedemanni XII.
*Nonnæ XII.**
Duo Stegarii.
Vigil, Watchman.
Messor, Reaper.
Custos Meserie.
Piscator, Fisherman.
Tassatores duo, Stackers, *(tassa,* a stack or mow.)
Wannator, Winnower, *(fannus,* a fan for corn.)
Vaccarius, Herdsman or Cow-keeper.
Minator, a Miner, *Minator Carucæ,* a Ploughman.
Minutor, a Bleeder (or Barber Surgeon).
Bercarii tres, Sheepfolders three.
Custos Lignorum, Keeper of the Wood.
Custodes Campi quatuor, Shepherds, four.
Carrectarii septem, Carters, seven.
Auriga, Driver or Waggoner.
Stabularius, Stable-keeper or Groom.
Stallarius, Master of the Horse.
Provendarius, Keeper of the Provender.
Custos Pallfridorum, Keeper of Palfreys.
Heywardus, Hedger, *(hay,* a hedge).
Vigultarius, Orcharder, provider of apples.
Grangiarius, Grangiator, Bailiff or Prior of a Grange.

* Perhaps the Nuns of Thetford, who received their maintenance from the monastery. In the list in Lord Cornwallis's MS. *Moniales de Thetford* are mentioned without the number.

Claviger

Claviger Grangii, Keeper or Clerk of the Granges.
Granetarius, Keeper of the Graneries or Stores.
Duo Subviatores.
Custos Mandati.
Duo Brevitores.
Wudewardus de Herdwick cum suo Grarcione.

Clericus S'ti Botolphi
——— *S'ti Hostii viridi*
——— *Capelle S'ti Dyonisii*
——— *S'ti Johanis Baptiste*
——— *S'ti Margarete*
——— *S'ti Johanis ad Montem*
——— *S'ti Stephani*
——— *Hospital. & magna Crux.*
} Chaplains.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

LORD ABBOTS.

Authorities — Uvius — Leofstanus — Baldwin — Vacancy — Robert — Robert the Second — Vacancy — Albold — Anselm — Ording — Hugh — Contest at Tours — Vacancy — Sampson — Seal — Vacancy — Hugh the Second — Richard — Henry — Edmund — Monks at Rome — Simon — Journey to Rome — Abbey seized — John de Norwold — Thomas de Todington — Richard de Draughton — William de Bernham — Henry de Hunstanton — John de Brinkley — Edmund de Bromefield — John Tinmouth — William Cratfield — Procurators — William Exeter — William Curteys — William Babington John Boon — Robert Coote, or de Ixworth — Richard Hengham — Thomas Racclesden — William Codenham — William Bunting — John Melford — Death — Epitaph.

THE monastery of *St. Edmund's Bury* remained five hundred and nineteen years in the possession of the Benedictine Monks; during which time it appears to have been governed by thirty-three Abbots; but the imperfect manner in which the records of the convent are preserved renders it impossible to speak with absolute precision. The following list has been collected from the Registers*,

* Regist. T. M. & alii.

and

and from Dugdale *, Leland †, Bishop Tanner ‡, Willis §, Bishop Hutton ‖, Batteley ¶, the Collectanea Buriensis, and some other documents.

1st Abbot, *Uvius*, Prior of Hulm, was, upon the expulsion of the secular clergy by Bishop Ailwin, introduced with his Benedictine Monks into this monastery, appointed Abbot, and consecrated by the Bishop of London. He governed the convent twenty-four years, died A. D. 1044, and was buried in the chapel of the infirmary.

2d Abbot, *Leofstanus*, a monk of Hulm, who accompanied Uvius to *St. Edmund's Bury*, succeeded him in the abbacy, and died on the calends of August, A. D. 1065.

3d Abbot, *Baldwin*, a monk of St. Dionysius at Paris, then Prior of the church of Derhurst in Gloucestershire, and, upon the decease of Leofstanus, appointed Abbot of *St. Edmund's Bury*. He was skilful in the medical art, and had been physician to King Edward the Confessor, and Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury. He is thus described by Lydgate **,

* Mon. Angl. vol. I. p. 295.

† Leland, Itin. vol. IV. p. 130. vol. VIII. p. 77. Collect. vol. I. p. 252. vol. II. p. 381.

‡ Tanner's Collect.

§ Willis's Mitred Abbies, edit. 1718, p. 85—89.

‖ Bishop Hutton's Collectanea, MS. Bibl. Harl. n. 7520.

¶ Antiquitates S. Ed. Burgi.

** Lydgate, MS. Bibl. Harl. n. 2278.

" Baldewynus,

" Baldewynus, a monk off Seynt Denys,
" Gretly expert in crafft off medycyne;
" Full provydent off counsayl and right wys,
" Sad off his port, fructuous off doctryne;
" After, by grace and influence devyne,
" Chose off Bury Abbot, as I reede,
" The thrydde in order which did ther succeede.

" To Seynt Edward he was phesean,
" To many siknes he did remedye," &c.

He also appears to have lived in great favour with William the Conqueror, who protected him in his dispute with Bishop Herfast, and permitted him to enrich his monastery by some peculiar grants. His name appears in Spelman as witness to several of the King's charters *; and, A. D. 1076 †, on the death of the Abbot of Ely, King William caused an inventory of the moveables of that church to be taken; and this inventory was certified by Baldwin, Abbot of *St. Edmund's Bury.*

Baldwin died in a good old age, having attained upwards of eighty years, A. D. 1097, and was interred in the middle of the choir of St. Edmund's church ‡.

The abbacy was kept vacant three years, until near the death of William Rufus §. By preventing the appointment of superior of-

* Bentham's Ely, p. 106. † Spelman, Concilia.

‡ Batteley, p. 50. Regist. Lakingheth. Contin. Chron. Marian. Scot. Bib. Lambeth.

§ Cole's MSS. vol. XXVII. p. 197.

ficers, this monarch appropriated to his own use considerable portions of the monastic revenues. At length the

4th Abbot, *Robert*, son of Hugh Earl of Chester, was appointed Abbot; but, shortly after, in a synod held at London, was, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, degraded, with several others who had, by payment of money, obtained abbacies from William Rufus, and deposed from his office A. D. 1102 *. The Register Lakingheth says, he was ejected because he had presumed to accept the church without the canonical election of the monks †.

This was followed by another vacancy of five years; and then the

5th Abbot, *Robert the Second*, was appointed Abbot, and consecrated A. D. 1107; and, after governing the convent five years, died in 1112. On the decease of Robert, the abbacy remained vacant two years ‡; after which,

6th Abbot, *Albold*, a native of Jerusalem, and a monk of Beccles, was chosen Abbot, A. D. 1114; and died suddenly A. D. 1119.

7th Abbot, *Anselm*, Abbot of St. Saba at Rome, spent much of his time in England with his uncle Anselm, the celebrated Arch-

* Spelman, Concilia, vol. II. p. 21. 23, 24.

† Batteley, p. 53.

‡ Willis and Hutton give a vacancy of seven years. Batteley, p. 60, says, if to these two you add the five years that were vacant after the deposition of Robert the First, you will have the seven years vacancy, though not in immediate succession.

bishop

bishop of Canterbury; and, after the death of Aldbold, he accepted of the abbacy of Bury. In the year 1133, the Bishop of London dying; Anselm the Abbot of *St. Edmund's Bury* was, about 1136, after much contention, nominated to that diocese *; and, A. D. 1138, Ordingus the Prior of the convent was elected to the abbacy; but the election of Anselm to the episcopacy not obtaining confirmation, he again returned to Bury, where he also experienced considerable difficulty in resuming the government of the monastery. At length Ordingus, "*sive nolens sive volens*," yielded the office to Anselm. This Abbot appears not to have supported the best of characters, for during these contests Thurstan, Archbishop of York †, writing to the Pope concerning Anselm, says, "if respect was had to his "life and opinions, it would be much safer to remove him from "the abbacy than to promote him to the church of London." He, however, continued Abbot of *St. Edmund's Bury* till his death, which happened A. D. 1148.

8th Abbot, *Ording*, on the decease of Anselm, was re-elected to the Abbacy; four years after which a dreadful fire happened in the monastery, which consumed the Abbot's palace, the refectory, the dormitory, the infirmary, and other buildings. This Abbot died A. D. 1156.

9th Abbot, *Hugh*, the Prior of Westminster ‡, was, A. D. 1157, elected to the abbacy of *St. Edmund's Bury;* and having been con-

* Godwin de Præsulibus, p. 176.

† Batteley, p. 71.

‡ Ibid. p. 76, &c. MS. Bibl. Cott. Cleop. A. 7.

firmed by Henry Bishop of Winchester, received the benediction at Colchester from Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury. This Abbot appears to have been a zealous assertor of the rights and honours of his monastery. When attending a council at Tours, A. D. 1163, the presiding Cardinal having assigned to Robert the Abbot of St. Alban's the first seat, as Chief Abbot of England, and ordered his janitor to keep it, Abbot Hugh was so much exasperated, that, the evening preceding the celebration of the council, he, with his apparitors, expelled the servant of the Abbot of St. Alban's, and seized the seat; and, to keep possession, remained on it all night; but, fearing he might be disgraced by having this first seat taken from him by the Pope or Cardinals, he endeavoured to conciliate their favour by the prevailing argument of sixty marcs of silver. He knew, however, that Robert would be unwilling to call him to legal account, because King Henry the Second had forbidden his English prelates to bring any action in the Papal Court. For this reason, Abbot Robert submitted patiently to these injuries; and declaring before the Pope and all present the privileges granted to his monastery by Pope Hadrian, and the violence offered him by the Abbot of St. Edmund, robed in his pontifical ornaments he sat down next to the Abbot of St. Edmund, above all the others. Hugh governed the convent till A. D. 1180, when, being old and infirm, a fall from his horse occasioned his death.

After the decease of Hugh, the abbacy remained vacant, according to *Chron. Jocelini*, two years and three months; but the Register of J. Laknygheth says only one year and three months.

10th Abbot, *Sampson de Botington*, a native of Norfolk, a monk of St. Edmund, and Confessor to King Henry the Second, was elected

elected Abbot in the beginning of the year 1180. In Christ-church, Canterbury, is still remaining the seal of Abbot Sampson; on one side is represented the Abbot with a mitre on his head, a pastoral staff in his right hand, and a book in his left. In the circumference is this inscription:

Sigillum Sampsonis Dei gratiâ Abbatis S'c'i Edmundi.

On the other side is a lamb bearing a cross, with these words circumscribed — *Secretum Sampsonis Abbatis.*

This Abbot was accustomed to preach sometimes in the Norfolk dialect*; the county in which he was born. He died, according to most of the accounts, A. D. 1211; but, according to some others, not till the year following.

After the death of Sampson, a vacancy of near two years was occupied by a controversy that arose concerning his successor. The convent made a double election; some of the monks choosing Hugo de Northwold, and others giving their votes for Robert de Gravil, the Sacrist. This contest was determined by delegates from the Pope; and the

11th Abbot, *Hugh the Second,* of Northwold in Norfolk, and a monk of Bury, was, A. D. 1213, invested with the abbacy; and having possessed it fifteen years, was translated to the bishoprick of Ely A. D. 1228. The year preceding this translation he was one of the King's itinerant justices in the county of Norfolk. The effigies that ornamented his tomb still remains at Ely, with the legend

* Reyner, Appendix, p. 153. Fosbrooke, vol. I. p. 126, Notes.

of

of St. Edmund's martyrdom carved at the feet. It has been stated that he was the founder of the venerable cathedral still in existence at Ely, and supposed to have been erected on the model of the monasterial church of *St. Edmund's Bury;* but the accurate Historian of Ely Cathedral informs us that he built only the elegant presbytery now used as the choir of that church *.

12th Abbot, *Richard de Insula,* or of Ely, who had been Sacrist or Prior of the convent of Bury, and afterwards Abbot of Burton, was on the promotion of Hugh the Second, elected to the abbacy of Bury, in June A. D. 1229, and installed on St. Edmund's day in the presence of Richard Archbishop of Canterbury, Hugh Bishop of Ely, and many other Bishops and Peers of England.

In February, A. D. 1233, this Abbot of Bury was at the abbey of St. Dennis near Paris, on a visit to Eudes Clement, an Englishman, at that time Abbot of that great Benedictine convent †.

Richard enjoyed his honours at *St. Edmund's Bury* but five years, dying A. D. 1234.

13th Abbot, *Henry,* the Prior of the monastery, was, the same year, elected to the abbacy; and received the benediction from Hugh

* Bentham's Ely, pp. 146 and 148.

† History of the Abbey of St. Dennis, par Felibien, p. 131. Cole's MSS. vol. XXVIII. p. 197.

Bishop

Bishop of Ely. He presided over the convent about fourteen years, and died A. D. 1248.

14th Abbot, *Edmund de Walpoole*, alias Brondish, LL. D. monk of Bury, was elected Abbot in July A. D. 1248; and he also received the benediction from Hugh Bishop of Ely.

The convent sent three monks to Rome, to obtain the Pope's confirmation; and as the Abbot had been elected without opposition, they expected he would have been confirmed without controversy †. But the Pope, without examination, by his absolute authority alone, annulled the election, and rejected the elected. When the monks, overwhelmed with sorrow, were departing, they were recalled by the Pope, saying to them, "Since the unhappy deserve pity, of our "mere grace, we concede to you this election, and that the Con-"vent may be delivered to your Abbot; but let him acknowledge "the favour, by paying eight hundred marcs to a certain merchant, "to whom we are that sum indebted." The monks were so much shocked at this unblushing avarice, that, on their return, one died of a broken heart at Lyons, and another at Dover. The third survived weak and dejected, that an action so unworthy of the Pope should have been imposed on the brethren.

Edmund † governed the monastery eight years, and died A. D. 1256. He was succeeded by

15th

* Matthew Paris, p. 755; and Parker, Antiq. Britan. edit. 1605. 183.

† In Leland's Itinerary is this passage:

Edmundus Bokenham Abbas, Cogehall in Magna Berton pro 100 *marcis.* Upon which Mr. Cole thus comments;

"There

15th Abbot, *Simon de Lutene*, or Luton, or Luyton, a prudent and circumspect man, who was successively Sacrist, Prior, and Abbot of St. Edmund's. To this highest conventual honour he was elected in the beginning of the year 1237. The monks sent to Rome to obtain the papal confirmation returned without the object of their mission; a constitution having been lately made that all exempt Abbots should apply *in propriâ personâ* at the apostolic see *. Abbot Simon, therefore, immediately undertook a journey to Rome; and, on the 11th cal. Novemb. received benediction from Pope Alexander the Fourth; and was the first of all the English Abbots who went personally to the Roman court for confirmation and benediction. This court was complimented with two thousand pounds sterling; and the Pope bestowed upon the Abbot the privilege of giving the episcopal blessing * *(more episcopali)*. Simon died in the 23d year of his Abbotship, A. D. 1279.

On the death of Simon de Luyton the King (Edward the First) seized both the Abbot's portion and the barony; and the possessions of the convent could not be rescued from him either by intreaty or

"There is but one Edmund in the list of Abbots, and he is called Edmund de "Walpole.

"I rather take this to mean, that Abbot Edmund gave to the convent Bokenham "abbas, so called among themselves to distinguish it from two other towns of the "same name. As to what is said in Leland I can say nothing; no mention that I can "find being made of it in the Index. I am sure that Bury Abbey had an estate in "Old Bokenham, which they might possibly call Abbot's Bokenham. The arms "also of the abbey are in the church window." Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. I. p. 267.
267 Cole's MSS. vol. XLV. p. 28.

† Matthew Paris, p. 951.

* Chap. IV. § 2. Abbot's Privileges.

money

money. But all things were disposed of by the direction of John of Berwick, the King's attorney. He made an exhibition of allowance to the convent; the homages of the manors of the convent, as well within as without the town of *St. Edmund's Bury*, being tallyed *.

16th Abbot, *John de Norwold*, was elected Abbot on the decease of Simon de Luyton. He governed the church twenty-two years, and died A. D. 1301.

17th Abbot, *Thomas de Tottington*, succeeded to the abbacy; which he held eleven years, and died A. D. 1312. On the decease of Thomas,

18th Abbot, *Richard de Draughton*, was appointed Abbot; and, during his abbacy, had the mortification of seeing his splendid monastery reduced to a heap of ruins †, and of being himself subjected to much insult and indignity. In his time also flourished the celebrated and learned monk, Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham.

Richard, after having supported the abbatial authority during twenty-three years under various broils and vicissitudes, died A. D. 1335.

19th Abbot, *William de Bernham*, was, upon the death of Richard, invested with the mitre; and after possessing the government of the convent twenty-five years, died A. D. 1361 ‡.

* History of Taxes, p. 81.

† Chap. IV. § 5. Contests with Townsmen.

‡ Madox, Formulare Anglicanum, p. 139.

20th Abbot, *Henry de Hunstanton*, was elected to succeed William A. D. 1361; but died of the pestilence near Avignon before his confirmation.

21st Abbot, *John de Brinkley*, LL. B. had the abbacy bestowed upon him by Pope Innocent A. D. 1361. He governed the church seventeen years, and died A. D. 1379.

Upon the death of John, the Pope immediately appointed to the abbacy Edmund de Bromefield, D.D. and a monk of this house *; who coming to England, and having obtained the consent of thirteen monks, took possession of the abbey, and was installed: yet the King refused to confirm the election, as being done by the Pope's own authority, and contrary to the laws of England. Edmund Bromefield was apprehended, and sent to the Tower of London, and afterwards to Nottingham castle. These contentions occasioned a vacancy of five years, and then

22d Abbot, *John Tinmouth*, was appointed Abbot A. D. 1384; and held the office six years, dying A. D. 1390.

23d Abbot, *William Cratfield*, elected to the abbacy, A. D. 1390. Three years after this, such violent torrents of rain fell, that the floods broke into the monasterial church, and covered its area. The latter part of the life of this Abbot was much oppressed with sickness. On the 17th of November, 1413, he was at Elmeswell, much indisposed †. This illness continued to 1414, and the business of the abbacy was done by deputation. The Abbot, being detained by great infirmity, could not attend the convocation at St. Paul's,

* Willis, p. 87.

† Cole's MSS. vol. XLV. p. 47.

he therefore constituted William Barwe, S. T. B. and Sacrist; John Ixworth utriusque Juris Doctorem; and William Curteys Confratrem suum; his procurators to that assembly, to assist in repressing the Lollard heresy.

He died, according to the Patent Rolls, A. D. 1414; but the Monasticon says he resigned four years before his death, which happened A. D. 1418.

24th Abbot, *William Exeter,* was next promoted to the abbacy. The Patent Rolls call him John, and inform us, that on July the 13th, 3 Henry V. (1415), the temporalities of this abbey were delivered to *John Exeter,* monk of *St. Edmund's Bury,* elected Abbot on the vacancy by the death (perhaps should be resignation) of William Cratfield. Exeter appears to have been Abbot fourteen years, and died A. D. 1429.

25th Abbot, *William Curteys,* was elected Abbot, according to the Patent Rolls, 7 Henry VI. A. D. 1429, and is supposed to have died A. D. 1445.

26th Abbot, *William Babington,* Decretorum Doctor, and president of the Benedictine Order in England, occurs as Abbot A. D. 1447, again 1453, and the next year

27th Abbot, *John Boon,* or *Bohun**, occurs Abbot A. D. 1454, he being, no doubt, elected on the death or cession of William Babington; and held the office till deprived of it by death, A. D. 1469.

* Willis, vol. II. p. 223.

28th Abbot, *Robert Coote* *, occurs Abbot A. D. 1470, and again 1473. He was the son of Sir John Coote, of Norfolk. This Abbot appears also to have been called *Robert de Ixworth*.

29th Abbot, *Richard Hengham*, elected Abbot of St. Edmund's, according to Patent Rolls, 14 Edward IV. A. D. 1474, on the death of *Robert Ixworth*.

30th Abbot, *Thomas Racclesden*, was made Abbot on the death of Richard Hengham, Patent Rolls, 19 Edward IV. A. D. 1479.

31st Abbot, *William Codenham*, occurs Abbot A. D. 1497, and again 1508. Dr. Tanner thinks this Codenham proceeded D. D. at Cambridge A. D. 1501. It is not unworthy of remark, that, A. D. 1506, the Abbot of *St. Edmund's Bury* presented Thomas Woolsey, a native of Ipswich in this county, and afterwards the famous Cardinal, to the Rectory of Redgrave.

32d Abbot, *William Buntyng*, occurs Abbot A. D. 1511 †.

33d Abbot, *John Melford* ‡, alias *Reeve*, elected Abbot A. D. 1514. A com-

* Willis, Appendix, vol. I. p. 57. Collect. Tanner, extract. ex regist. Norwich.

† Willis, edit. 1718, p. 85—88.

" The Abbot of St. Edmund's Bury, Lord William Buntinge, Argent, a chevron " Gules, inter 3 Birds Azure, combs and gills Gules. As we have a bird in Cam- " bridge and Suffolk called a bunting, or a bunting lark, it is probable these birds are " in allusion to that name."—W. C. Cole's MSS. vol. XXVII. p. 197. This Abbot's arms blazoned, Cole's MS. vol. XXX. p. 12.

‡ " John Melford, made Abbot 1509, the 1st Henry VIII. per fatalem decessum " Will'i

A commission was directed to him A. D. 1522, to ascertain the bounds of Ipswich, a jury was impanneled, and their return filed in Chancery.

Abbot Reeve assisted principally at the grand funeral of Abbot Islip of Westminster, A. D. 1532.

On November 4th, 1539, after having in vain endeavoured to avert the fatal blow by several concessions, Abbot Reeve was compelled to surrender his splendid and wealthy monastery into the hands of Henry VIII.

An annual pension of five hundred marcs was granted to the Abbot, and he retired from the magnificence of the abbatial palace and dignity to a private station in a small house at the top of the Crown Street; but he seems to have fallen a victim to the severity of the change, as he very soon sunk under the weight of disappointment and sorrow, and survived the degradation of his Order and the loss of his Abbey but a few months. He died on the 30th March, 1540; and was interred in the chancel of St. Mary's church.

A marble slab was placed over his remains, inscribed with this epitaph:

" Will'i Codenham, ultimi Abbatis. Ex Collect. MS. cl. Whartoni." Cole's MSS. vol. XXVII. p. 198, and vol. XXVIII. p. 62.

This seems to be a mistake, as William Buntinge, and not Codenham, immediately preceded Melford.

Buria

Buria quem dominum ac Abbatem noverit olim,
Illius hic recubant osso * sepulta viro *,
Suffolce Melforda nomen nato Johannem
Dixerunt Kemis † progeniè, atque pater ;
Magnanimus, prudens, doctus fuit atque benignus,
Integer, et voti religionis amans—
Regni qui cum Henrici octavi viderat annum
Ter decimum ac primum, Martius atque dies
Unum terque decem . . . . . flamine terras
Occidit. O animæ parce benigne Deus !—1540.

Translation—

Here rest the sepultured bones of that man whom Bury formerly acknowledged Lord and Abbot, born at Melford in Suffolk, named John; his family and father Reeves. He was magnanimous, prudent, learned, benignant, and upright, loving the religion to which he was dedicated. Who, when he had seen the 31st year of the reign of Henry VIII. on the 31st day of March, sunk untimely to the grave. Spare his soul, O gracious God !—1540.

" Abbot Reeve's gravestone of grey marble, which formerly had " his full effigies in brass, with his mitre on his head, and a crosier " in his hand, with four coats of arms at the corners of the stone,

* Sic in Weever, pro *ossa*, et *viri*.—Willis.

† Kemis. — I presume this also to be a mistake pro *Revis*, sive *Reves* — in Weever, p. 731.—Willis.

In Dugdale's Summons, p. 491, he is called Lord John Melford, alias Reve. — Willis, edit. 1718, p. 89.

" which

" which is a very large and noble one, and no doubt provided by " the good Abbot some years before his death, was, not long be- " fore I was at Bury, in March 1745-6, taken up from the middle " of the chancel in St. Mary's church at Bury, where it had rested " ever since the dissolution, to make room for the gravestone of " one Sutton, the purser of a ship, and the Abbot's moved out of " the church, and laid by the entrance into the South porch, in the " church-yard of the said church.

" This I saw with no small degree of indignation when I was at " Bury with the late Sir James Burroughs, walking with him about " the precincts of the abbey, and into the two noble churches of " Bury. The fanatics of 1643 only stole the brass of the grave- " stone; but let the bones remain in quiet possession of their " rightful habitation *."

* Cole's MSS. vol. XXVII. p. 198.

CHAPTER VII.

DISSOLUTION.

Popularity of Monks — Decline — Crown — Nobles — Parochial Clergy — Revival of Letters — Sanctuary — Superstitious Practices — Supremacy — Pecuniary Supplies — Insurrections — Injustice — Innovations dangerous — Church despoiled — MSS. destroyed — Monastic Edifices — Monastic Orders — Visitors — Original Letters — Curious Grant — Valuations — Monks and Pensions — Fee-farm Rents — Tithes — King James I. — Grant of the Site — Possessors.

THE long reign of popularity which the Monks during many ages enjoyed, and the favour, protection, and very liberal endowments they had received from the nobility and various Kings of England, render it a subject of curious enquiry, to investigate the causes that operated to produce the decline in enthusiastic admiration which preceded and accelerated the dissolution of the monasteries.

The ambition, avarice, and overbearing influence of the Popes, occasioned frequent contests between the Kings of England and the See of Rome * ; and the Regular Clergy (as the Monks were called)

* Preface to Tanner's Notitia Monastica.

being

being found invariably to adhere to the interests of the Pope, rendered them by degrees obnoxious to the Crown. Those suspicions and jealousies were much increased by the unwillingness of the ecclesiastics to bear a just proportion of the public burthens. They often sheltered themselves under the Papal authority, and by that means rendered their vast wealth and immense privileges the occasion of enervating the military force, and diminishing the revenues of government.

The nobility began to regard the monastic establishments with disapprobation; as many of the *heads of religious houses* now rivalled them in opulence and splendour, and the very rigid and resolute manner in which they maintained their numerous immunities and regalities, involved them in frequent controversies with the noble families around them.

Similar causes occasioned a spirit of dissatisfaction in the Parochial Clergy. They could not but view the Monks with an eye of jealousy, as from their possessions and great influence they continually obtained for those of their own body the most valuable preferments. And the Bishops, though frequently elevated from the cloister to the episcopal chair, yet were no sooner invested with the mitre, than they found the extensive privileges and exemptions of the monasteries very inimical to the necessary ecclesiastical subordination.

These circumstances operated gradually during many years; but they appear to have been assisted by some other causes in more immediately producing the destruction of these establishments.

The revival of letters, and the more general diffusion of knowledge, awakened a desire of founding colleges and institutions for education with the possessions appropriated to the maintenance of monks *. To promote learning, and extend its beneficial influence, seems to have been the object of Cardinal Wolsey, and some others who acted with him, in suppressing the smaller monasteries; though doubtless many assisted in it from very different motives.

The privilege of sanctuary in the monasteries was often and long complained of; as, by protecting atrocious offenders, they subverted the foundations of social intercourse, and rendered nugatory the sanctions of law and civil justice †.

An opinion was become prevalent, that the revenues of these houses were perverted from their original design, and not employed according to the intent of the donors.

The increase of learning also rendered more conspicuous the various corruptions and superstitious practices too prevalent in the monastic societies. The discovery of much imposture, many cheats in their images, many feigned miracles, and many counterfeit relics, brought the monks into great disgrace, and contributed to reconcile the public mind to their overthrow. But, notwithstanding the detection of much fraud, and allowing that many of the religious were found to lead loose and vicious lives, which no doubt was much increased by their vows of celibacy; yet it cannot, without difficulty, be supposed that their conduct was in general so immoral as

* Preface to Tanner's Notitia Monast.

† Stow's Chron, p. 443.

the

the visitors represented it. Indeed Lord Herbert expressly says, "that some societies behaved so well, that their lives were not only "exempt from notorious faults, but their spare time was employed "in writing and other useful exercises *."

The casting off the Pope's supremacy certainly promoted the downfall of the monks, as they were thought in their hearts to favour the Church of Rome †.

But the most efficient cause of the dissolution of the monasteries was the urgent pecuniary wants of the King. A large supply was become necessary, and the people were not unwilling that it should be raised without imposing any burthen upon them. The monastic possessions were therefore resorted to; and, in order to silence the clamour and obviate the objections that such vast innovations might occasion, a declaration was made, that the King would never henceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, from the Abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of government ‡.

Notwithstanding these precautions, the suppression of the religious houses occasioned great dissatisfaction; the condition of the expelled monks excited much commiseration; and the resentment of the people, in many places, broke out into such determined insurrection, that the assistance of military force was necessary to restore the peace of the country.

* Lord Herbert's History, vol. II. p. 186. † Ibid. p. 267.

‡ Preface to Tanner's Notitia Monast. Burnet, History of the Reformation, vol. I. p. 242. vol. III. 132. Lord Herbert's Com. Hist. vol. II. p. 191 and 212. Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. II. p. 149. Fuller, book vi. p. 222. Hume's History of England, p. 199.

Lord Herbert says, that many scrupled not openly to declare their abhorrence of these transactions, and that they were nothing less than . . . . . and sacrilege, and as such not at all to be defended.

It certainly seemed unjust to abolish pious institutions for the faults, real or pretended, of individuals *. The most moderate and reasonable thought it somewhat iniquitous, that men, who had been invited into a course of life, by all the laws human and divine, which prevailed in their country, should be turned out of their possessions, and so little care be taken of their future subsistence.

But it is not on account of the more immediate sufferers alone that we have to regret the manner in which these establishments were overthrown. The rash and violent measures adopted at the dissolution have been productive of much real injury to the country, that might easily have been avoided.

Innovation may sometimes be necessary; but it is always a medicine of the most deleterious qualities, and requires the utmost efforts of sound judgment and strenuous integrity to direct its operation. Even reformation itself, when conducted by the intemperate hand of passion and prejudice, may become the fruitful parent of incalculable mischief and misery.

That dangerous errors and enormous abuses prevailed in the convents is not to be denied, and that important changes were become absolutely necessary may very readily be allowed; but was it therefore requisite to tear up and utterly demolish that which only re-

* Hume, History of England, p. 185.

quired reparation and amendment? Wisdom and justice might have suggested means of correcting the evils complained of; might have preserved to the community the numerous advantages these establishments were capable of affording, without incurring those misfortunes that were the consequences of their violent dissolution.

In despoiling the church of its possessions, too little regard seems to have been had to the maintenance of the inferior Clergy; and a very insufficient provision was, in many places, reserved for the performance of Divine offices.

The Monks had, for ages, been the guardians of ancient literature; and the loss of the innumerable books that were preserved in the convents * is a most important and irretrieveable misfortune that can never be sufficiently lamented. Respectable writers affirm, that immense quantities were carelessly and wantonly destroyed; that ignorant petty tradesmen, for a great length of time, employed the elegant productions of Grecian and Roman taste in wrapping up their merchandize and lighting their fires; and that an incredible number of valuable manuscripts were procured by foreign agents, and sent out of the kingdom to enrich the libraries of the Continent †.

Had moderation and equity guided the correction of monastic abuses, the valuable and extensive buildings might have been preserved, and employed to the most beneficial purposes. Their

* A complete catalogne of a considerable library belonging to Leicester Abbey may be seen in Mr. Nichols's History of that County, vol. I. pp. 101—103.

† Stevens's Preface to Monasticon. John Bale on Leland; and notes to Grose's Preface.

grandeur

grandeur and magnificence might still have ornamented our country, and have afforded a comfortable retreat for age, indigence, and misfortune. As schools, colleges, hospitals, and asylums, a small expence might have protected them from the ravages of time; and moderate establishments might have conferred on the country at large the most important advantages. Youth might, at an easy rate, have been trained to industry, knowledge, and virtue; the sufferings of the aged, the infirm, and the diseased, alleviated; and the necessities of the labouring classes in a great measure supplied, without having recourse to laws that too often are found to operate as a premium to idleness, and impose a very severe burthen on the industry of the state.

The Monastic Orders being in many of their points of discipline contrary to nature, and the immense increase of them injurious to society, important national and political benefits are supposed to have resulted from their suppression; although, perhaps, many of these benefits may, with reason and truth, be rather referred to the reformation in religious doctrines that soon after made a rapid progress; and the errors and impositions, that the extension of learning and knowledge then made more visible, seem to have subjected the Monks to a censure too severe aud indiscriminating.

The rapacity that seized and appropriated to its own indulgence the possessions of the monasteries, would seek at least an implied justification of its conduct, by branding the Monks with every opprobrium; but as time has now removed the incidental causes that deprived these injured ecclesiastics of a fair and impartial hearing, the candour of a more disinterested and liberal age will not withhold that meed of just praise demanded for them by truth and equity.

To

To the Monks we are indebted for whatever charms and instructs us in the literary labours of Greece and Rome. The learning they possessed led them to rescue from the ravages of time and war the valuable remains of antiquity; and their industry and leisure enabled them to preserve and multiply copies of works that it may, perhaps, be allowed they did not always fully understand.

To the Monks also we are indebted for many of the beautiful parochial churches that adorn the country, and which have long remained pleasing and useful evidences that monastic wealth was not always squandered for the purposes of personal enjoyment.

A learned and judicious writer observes, that the villages round Bury, about the termination of the 13th century, enjoyed a populousness that was far from national. He then proceeds, "Perhaps the abbotical government might be favourable to it. The "ecclesiastics were mild and indulgent landlords; their courts, "where their tenants were tried, were probably less arbitrary than "those of the great manerial lords; and their dependants less "likely to be torn from their homes and families than those of the "warlike barons. For these causes it is likely the villages under "the jurisdiction and protection of the neighbouring Abbey might "invite settlers from other parts, and enjoy a population in general "unknown *."

Many of the Monks were doubtless notoriously ignorant and profligate, yet many also were regular, learned, and exemplary. This appeared to have been in a great measure the character of the last Abbot and Monks of Bury.

* Sir John Cullum's Hawsted, p. 90.

Though

Though some singular superstitious practices and flagrant impostures must be allowed to have existed in this monastery, yet the opinion of the visitors seems to have been expressed with less severity towards it than some others had experienced from them.

The sentiments of the visitors we are enabled to ascertain from the most undoubtedly authentic documents; the official report of the Commissioners to Lord Cromwell being preserved in the Cottonian Library *, in two letters written from Bury.

The two Letters following are from the Visitors of *Bury Abbey* to Lord Cromwell †.

" Pleasyth it youre Lordship to be advertised that we have been " at *Saynt Edmondsbury*, where we found a riche shryne, which " was very comberous to deface. We have taken in the seyd " monastery in golde and sylver 5000 markes and above ‡, besyds as " well a riche crosse with emeredds, as also dyvers and sundry " stones of grete value; and yet we have left the churche, abbott, " and convent, very well furneshed with plate of sylver necessary for " the same.

" And we assure your Lordship the abbot and convent be very

* MS. Cott. Lib. notat. Cleopatra, A. 4. Also Willis, Appendix, vol. I. p. 58, and Preface to Grose's Antiquities.

† MS. Cott. Lib. notat. Cleopatra, A. 4, transcribed in Willis, Appendix, vol. I. p. 58.

‡ Willis, Appendix, p. 57. See also Lord Herbert's History of Henry VIII. London, 1672, p. 508.

" well

" well contented with every thing that we have done there, as " knoweth God, who preserve your Lordshipp.

" Your Lordshipe most bounden,

" *John Williams.*
" *Richard Pollard.*
" *Phylyp Parys.*
" *John Smyth.*"

" Please it your Mastership, forasmoche as I suppose ye shall " have sute made unto you touching Burie er we retorne, I thought " convenient to advertise you of our procedings ther; and also of " the compleints of the same. As for th'Abbot, we found nothing " suspect as touching his lyving; but it was detected that he laye " moche foorth in his granges; that he delited moche in playing at " dice and cardes, aud therin spente moche money; and in buyld- " ing for his plesure. He did not preche openly; also that he con- " verted divers fermes into copieholdes, whereof poore men doth " complain: also he semeth to be addict to the mayntenying of " such superstitious ceremonies as hath ben used hertofore. As " touching the convent, we coulde geate litle or no complaints " amonge theym, allthough we did use moche diligens in oure " examinacion; and therby, with some other arguments gathered of " their examinacions formerly, I believe and suppose they had con- " federed and compacted bifore oure comyng, that they shoulde " disclose nothynge; and yet it is confessed and proved, that ther " was here suche frequence of women comyn and reassorting to this " monasterie as to no place more. Amongest the reliques we " fownde moche vanitie and supersticion — as the coles that St. " Lawrence was tosted withal; the paring of St. Edmund's naylls; " St. Tho. of Cantur. penneknyff, and his bootes; and divers skulls " for the headache; peces of the Holie Cross, able to make a hole " crosse; of other reliques for rayne, and certaine other superst-

" cious usages for avoyding of wedes growing in corne, with such
" other. Here departe of theym that be under age upon an eight,
" and of theym that be above age upon a five wolde departe yf they
" might; and they be of the best sorte in the house, and of the best
" lernyng and ingeniete. The hole number of the convent bifore
" we cam was 60 savyng one, beside three that were at Oxforde.
" Of Elie I have written to youre Mastership by my felowe Richard
" a Lee. And thus Almightie God have you in his tuition.

" Your servaunt moste bounden,

" *John ap Rice.*"

From Burie, 5 Nov. [1539.]

Several ineffectual struggles were previously made by the Abbot and Convent to preserve their valuable establishment; one of which, as the most curious, is here noticed more fully.

The following grant is translated from the Collectanea Buriensis:

" To all the faithful in Christ to whom these written presents
" may come,—John, by divine permission, Abbot of the Monastery
" of St. Edmund, and the convent of the same place,—eternal salva-
" tion in the Lord. Know, that we, the said Abbot and Convent,
" with our unanimous assent and consent, for the many benefits
" conferred on us by that excellent man *(egregium virum)* Thomas
" Cromwell, Esq. the principal Secretary of our Lord Henry VIII.
" by the grace of God, of England and France King, Defender of
" the Faith, and Lord of Ireland; also on earth Supreme Head of
" the Church of England; have given and conceded, and by these
" presents do give and concede, to the said Thomas, and to Gregory
" Cromwell, Esq. the son and heir apparent of the same, one an-
" nual rent or annuity of ten pounds sterling, to have and receive
" annually the aforesaid annual rent of ten pounds to the same

" Thomas and Gregory, and either of them, to the end of the life " of the said Thomas and Gregory, and of either of them, the " longest liver, of and in our manor of Harlowe, and its appurte- " nances, in the county of Essex, at the Feast of Easter, and of St. " Michael the Archangel, in equal portions, annually by us to be " paid, for the use of the said Thomas and Gregory, and of either of " them living the longest. In witness of which, to this present " writing we have affixed our common seal. Given in our Chapter- " house within the said monastery, the 26th of November, in the " 27th year of the reign of Henry VIII. (1536) *."

These concessions, however, availed nothing. The pension to the minister and his son, and the full acknowledgment of the King's supreme ecclesiastical authority, were equally disregarded; and Abbot Reeve and his convent were three years afterward compelled to execute an entire surrender to the King of the monastery and its possessions, 4th November, 1539; and were driven from their splendid dwellings and ample revenues, to support themselves in the best manner they were able upon the scanty pittance of a trifling pension.

PENSIONS.

Willis's Appendix, p. 57, from Book of Pensions remaining in the Augmentation Office:

Mem. That 4 Nov. 31 Hen. VIII. Sir Richard Ryche, Knt. Chancellor of the King's Court of Augmentation; Sir Anthony Wynfield, Knt.; Richard Southwell, Esq.; William Petre, L.L.D. and other of the King's Commissioners for the dissolution of the monastery of *St. Edmund's Bury*, in the county of Suffolk, have

* Collect. Buriens. è Bibl. Roberti Comitis Oxon. See also Antiquarian Repertory, vol. III. p. 25.

appointed and assigned to the Abbot and Monks of the same monastery, for the term of their lives, these yearly pensions here after following :

Dompnus Johannes Melforde, *alias* Reeve, Abbas, 500 marc.
Thomas Boughstede, *alias* Denysse, S. T. D. Prior, 30 *l.*
Edward Rowgham, *alias* Maltward, sextenarius, 20 *l.*
Thomas Gnatsall, *alias* Eldrede.
Simon Berdewell, *alias* Saffere, Sub-prior.
Thomas Dentson, *alias* Stoke, Chamberer, 13 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* each.
William Thaxtede, *alias* Garden, Thomas Stoneham, *alias* Cooke, Edward Wethadon, *alias* Halley, 10 *l.* each.
Rad. Nowiche, *alias* Glanfield ; Gregorius Illey, *alias* Moptide ; Robert Hegsett, *alias* Pelkyn ; Robert Honynton, *alias* Howes, 8 *l.* each.
Johannes Westgata, *alias* Bower.
Johannes Cleydon, *alias* Helperbye.
Edmund Bury, *alias* Flemyng.
Robert Hilderley, *alias* Fenne.
Johannes Wolpett, *alias* Buknam.
Thomas Sudbury, *alias* Halle.
Johannes Cambrydge, *alias* Langham.
Johannes Osmund.
William Elmyswell, *alias* Bockhill.
Humfridus Attilborowe, *alias* Yonger.
Johannes Bury, *alias* Howys.
Johannes Lavenham, *alias* Hunt.
Thomas Myldenhall, *alias* Cole.
Thomas Mylford, *alias* Marche.
Thomas Disse, *alias* Fenne.
Johannes Bradfield, *alias* Wryght.
Thomas Gyppeswiswicke, *alias* Daws.

Allotus

Allotus Halstede, *alias* Holte.
Johannes Fowldon, *alias* Page.
Johannes Hadley, *alias* Kyng.
Robertus Nedeham, *alias* Bronyon.
Johannes Hicklyngham, *alias* Rede.
Johannes Walspett, *alias* Starre.
Johannes Barton, *alias* Harryson.
Thomas Hewett, *alias* Rowght.
Thomas Harlowe, *alias* Byrde.
Johannes Loppham, *alias* Saunderson.
Rogerus Maldon.
Petrus Danwyche, *alias* Kylborne.
Ranulphus Werketon, *alias* Marshall.
Johannes Walsingham, *alias* Bekham.

6l. 13s. 4d.

Signed, *Richard Ryche,*
Antony Wyngfield,
John ap Rice.

FEE FARM RENTS*.

The origin of the Impoſt, called Fee Farm or Quit Rents, it is not easy, or perhaps possible, now to determine. By some they are supposed to be a part of the fine levied upon the inhabitants in consequence of the extensive mischief done to the Abbey and its possessions during the insurrection of the townsmen. According to the opinion of others, they were rents paid in the manner of manorial or quit-rents, and accruing to the Abbot as Lord of the Manor; and, in some instances, they might be perpetual charges, or ground-rents, granted for permission to build upon ground the

* Chiefly from MS. Coll. T. M.

property

property of the Convent. But, whatever might have been the occasion of their first imposition, they appear to have formed a part of the Monastic revenue, and, at the dissolution, became vested in the Crown. They were afterwards granted to several persons; and, having thus become the property of individuals, have frequently changed their possessors both by purchase and descent.

They are of two kinds, and distinguished by two several denominations: Collective Rents, issuing and payable from certain lands and houses in and about the town: and Charter Rents, issuing and payable from the Corporation Estate; namely, the fairs and markets, and the glebe lands belonging to an estate called or known by the name of *Almoners Barns.*

This impost is very unequal, there being in one instance a charge so low as one penny *per annum*; and in another so high as two guineas.

The collection is made by an officer of the Corporation in the manner of other taxes, and afterwards paid by that body to the several proprietors.

The law is considered so decisive and severe in respect of these payments, that no instance is remembered of their having been disputed or objected to in Bury. The receipts of this charge on Clopton Hall, near Drinkston, having, by some accident, been neglected for fifty years, upon discovery of the omission, the arrears for the time elapsed were demanded, and full payment was made at the rate of twenty shillings *per annum*, the sum imposed on that mansion.

But

But disputes and complaints, on the part of the proprietors, have at various times arisen, on account of some deficiencies occasioned by returns of dead rents for estates which cannot be ascertained, or which, being entirely dilapidated, no one will own, much less lay any claim to; of this sort is the *Old Lime Kiln*, being a large pit without the West gate; and also a house at the South gate, now entirely demolished, and not one bit of timber left. The proprietors seem sometimes to have entertained an opinion that the Corporation might be compelled to make good all dead rent, without any demolishments or deductions: but the Corporation is only Collector, and not Farmer, of these rents, and consequently not obliged to make good what cannot be recovered.

The annual amount of this impost is somewhat more than 109*l.*

From an ancient paper, without date, in the collection of Mr. Martin, it appears that lady Adams, and the coheirs of William Allington, Esq. received 61*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* and Captain Gibbons, in the right of his wife, late Mrs. Smith, 27*l.* 4*s.* 4.$\frac{1}{2}$, both from the Collective rents. The collection was originally in two separate portions, one of which was called *Land-Mole Rents*; but that, in process of time, they became jumbled together in one rental, and for very many years have been collected without any known distinction to which of the proprietors any of them did properly belong. Many attempts have been made by the proprietors to ascertain such a distinction; and application, at a considerable expence, has been made to some old deeds in the Exchequer, but which were found to be expressed in terms much too general to afford the desired information, the obtaining of which is now considered as absolutely impossible. Proprietors of Fee Farm Rents, Lord Braybroke, R. Vernon Sadlier, Esq. R. Walpole, Esq. and M. T. Cocksedge, Esq.

H. W.

H. W. Barwick, Esq. purchased of Lord Braybrooke his third share of the Fee Farm Rents, 3d June, 1802.

Extract from the Indenture. "And by these presents doth grant, bargain, sell, alien, and confirm unto the said H. W. Barwick, his heirs and assigns, all that one full-third part (the whole into three equal parts to be divided) of the annual rent or rents, amounting to 38*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*$\frac{1}{4}$ and two mises reserved and issuing out of divers lands and tenements lying in the South and West parts of Bury St. Edmund's aforesaid, in the county of Suffolk, and payable by the burgesses of the said town; and also all that one full-third part (the whole into three equal parts to be divided) of the annual rent or rents, amounting to 23*l.* reserved and issuing out of divers lands and tenements lying in the North and East parts of Bury St. Edmund's aforesaid; which respective shares and parts of the said rents were late the estate and inheritance of the Right Honourable Lord Howard, deceased, who, in and by his last will and testament in writing duly executed, &c. &c. to have and to hold the said several parts and shares of the aforesaid respective annual rents of 38*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*$\frac{1}{4}$ and two *mises* and 23*l.* herein and hereby granted, bargained, and sold, or intended so to be, with their appurtenances, unto the said H. W. B. &c."

Subject to a land-tax of 1*l.* 14*s.* 0*d.*$\frac{1}{2}$ for each third share.

TYTHES.

Frequent appeals to the Courts of Law, on the subject of tythes, have, at various times since the dissolution, been made by the possessors of Abbey Lands. When the estates of the church were granted into lay-hands, the business was generally conducted in a very inattentive and negligent manner; and thus an opportunity was given to those interested of inserting in the grants clauses which

which would certainly not have passed without notice had more care been bestowed upon the subject *; particularly in the act declaring in what manner the monastic possessions should be held by the King and others under him, it was stated that "they should "hold them just in the same manner and as the Monks had holden "them." This declaration, at first sight, seems only to mean that those lands should continue to be held in frank almoigne; and this possibly might be the intention of the framers of the act: but some of the new possessors of the Abbey lands, availing themselves of the ambiguity of the expression, claimed an exemption from the payment of corn tythe, alledging that the Monks had held them discharged from the payment of tythes, and that the act justified them in holding those lands in the same manner.

Suits at law were instituted; and the lawyers adhering to the letter of the act, decisions were obtained in favour of the new possessors, to the great injury of the Church, which was thus deprived of an important part of its remaining revenues. The Clergy of many extensive districts were thus impoverished, at the very time that a considerable accession to their important duties was made; and their ability to alleviate, by charitable donations, the necessities of their indigent parishioners, was taken from them by the very circumstances that deprived the poor of their accustomed supplies, and rendered more frequent and pressing the occasions of benevolent contribution from the parochial clergy.

Had any advocate been inclined to stand forth in defence of the injured Church, and plead the cause of the suffering Parish Priest, he might have alledged, that most of the estates in question were

* Newcome's St. Alban's, vol. II. p. 460.

charged with tythes, and actually yielded and paid them long before they were given to the Monasteries; that giving the land, with the remaining nine parts of the produce, to any religious body, did not deprive the Church of the one tenth part she had possessed long previous to such benefaction.

That the grant of tythes was a *General Impost* by a solemn act of the Legislature under King Ethelwolf, son of Egbert *, and therefore could not be removed in any instance but by a similar express interference of the same authority; that the dispensations to impropriate the tythes of certain districts, and the charters to the same purpose of several of our Kings, did not actually discharge the lands from the payment of tythes, but were only permissions for the religious houses to apply the tythe to their own maintenance, and provide for the performance of parochial duties from their own body. That, when lands were held in ecclesiastical hands, it was not necessary to separate the tythe, as they received the *whole* produce: but when the estates were leased to tenants, as was generally the case, those tenants were under the necessity of paying their tythe either to the parochial clergy or the religious houses. In the opinion of those not interested in the decision, it might, therefore, appear somewhat difficult to assert that the Monks held their lands discharged from the payment of tythes; as it may perhaps be thought more accurate and consonant to fact to say that these estates always yielded tythe, though, from the peculiarity of possession in some instances, it was not always necessary to separate it from the remaining part of the produce.

The estates and lands formerly belonging to the Monastery of St. Edmund have given rise to several disputes and legal processes

* Ingulphus, Abbas de Crowland, anno 855.

upon

upon this subject. The determinations have been various, and, in some instances, apparently contradictory. Some of the larger farms yield the full tythe; others have obtained partial exemptions, and, in some few cases, a full discharge from tythes has been allowed and confirmed.

After the dissolution, the tythes of Bury St. Edmund's, and the precincts of its lordship, remained for many years vested in the Crown, and were collected by the receiver of the royal revenues. This appears by the receiver's accounts, where he particularly charges himself with "*Decimis Grani, Herbagii, Lactis, Lanæ, Agnellorum, Vitulorum,* &c. *infra Domin' de Bury Sancti Edmundi, et infra precinct' ejusdem Domin' pervenient'*, &c. &c." This continued till they were granted to the Corporation by King James I. when they were not given as a lay impropriation to be in common with their other revenues, but for the express purpose of maintaining the Parochial Clergy in the nature of a perpetual trust, which has hitherto been faithfully executed and discharged even to the supplying from other funds any deficiency that may happen to arise *.

King James the First, being seised of all tythes, great and small, in the Lordship of St. Edmund's Bury, and all other tythes that did belong to the Monastery there, and of the Rectory or Rectories impropriate, Vicarage or Vicarages impropriate, of St. Edmund's Bury, and the two Parish Churches there, and all tythes, predial, personal, and mixed, in St. Edmund's Bury, and the precincts and tytheable places thereof, by letters patent, dated 1st July, in the 6th year of his reign in England, out of his favour to the town, which had suffered lately by fire, *inter alia*, did grant to the then Aldermen and Burgesses, and their successors, all tythes of corn,

* Chiefly from Collect. T. M.

herbage, milk, fruit, &c. within the lordship and precincts of St. Edmund's Bury, which did belong to the Monastery, and before the dissolution to the Eleemosinars there, and also the Eleemosinars Barns, Glebe Lands, Rents, &c. (except the advowsons of churches and chapels to the said Lordship belonging) and all other obventions, oblations, and private tythes, which were commonly collected by the Sexton of the said Monastery, to hold to the said Aldermen, &c. and their successors for ever, rendering 28*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* yearly at Lady-day and Michaelmas.

T. M.

Abstract

Abstract of the Grant and Title Deeds to the Site of the Monastery.

14 February, 1560, 20 Elizabeth.

By Letters Patent under the Great Seal (reciting as therein is recited) the said Queen Elizabeth, in consideration of 412*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* paid by John Eyer, Esq. did, for her heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said John Eyer (*inter al'*). All that the site, circuit, and precinct of the late dissolved Monastery of Bury, otherwise called *Bury St. Edmund,* in the county of Suffolk.

And a messuage or mansion-house, *cum pertin'*, then or late in the tenure of the said John Eyer, situate within the site of the said late Monastery.

And all houses, edifices, and structures whatsoever, to the said messuage or mansion-house adjoining or belonging, then or late in the tenure of the said John Eyer.

And all that parcel of land called *The Dorter Court,* containing in length fifty feet, to the said mansion-house adjoining.

And all those two houses and edifices called *The Garners,* situate on the East side of the said mansion-house.

And all that stable called *The Abbot's Stables.*

And all that house called *The Hay-house,* to the said stable adjoining and belonging.

And all that house and edifices whatsoever, with the appurtenances, called *The Gate House* of the said late Monastery.

And all the land, ground, and soil whatsoever, within the walls and precincts of the said site of the said late Monastery.

And all that piece of land called *The Great Court,* containing four acres.

And all that garden and land called *The Pallaies Garden,* containing one acre.

And

And two little closes of land lying between the hall called *The King's Hall.*

And two little gardens lying next the Chamberer's office of the said late Monastery.

And all that garden called *The Lecture Yard.*

And all those little gardens lying near Bradfield-hall, within the said site of the said late Monastery.

And all those four gardens within the site aforesaid, lying between Bradfield-hall and the Walnut-tree Close within the said site.

And all that church-yard of the said late Monastery in Bury aforesaid.

And all that parcel of land, *cum pertin'*, called *The Pond Yard,* within the said site (wherein divers ponds were).

And all ponds whatsoever within the said site, between the streams there, in Bury aforesaid.

And all that land, ground, and soil whatsoever, and all that piece of land called *The Vine,* in Bury aforesaid, containing six acres.

And all that pasture and land called *The Walnut-tree Yard,* containing three acres.

All which said premises were formerly in the hands and occupation of the Abbot and Convent of the said late Monastery before the dissolution thereof, and were parcel of the possessions thereof.

And all that meadow and land, called *Noman's Meadow, cum pertin'*, containing 22 acres, then or late in the tenure of the said John Eyre, late parcel of the possession of the said late Monastery.

And all that meadow, *cum pertin'*, lying near *Noman's Meadow prædict'*, late in the occupation of Edmund Hawkyn, and parcel of the possesions of the said late Monastery.

To hold unto and to the use of the said John Eyre, his heirs and assigns, for ever; to be held of the said Queen, her heirs and successors, as of the manor of East Greenwich, in the county of Kent,

Kent, by fealty only, in free socage, and not *in capite*, by the rents and services therefore to her and them to be made.

1 March, 1560, 2 Elizabeth.

By Deed Poll (with livery and seisin endorsed) the said John Eyre, Esq. of Bury St. Edmund precinct, in consideration of 412*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* paid him by Thomas Badby, Gent. and other good considerations, did give, grant, and confirm the said Abbey of Bury, *alias* Bury St. Edmund's, and premises, *cum pertin'*, granted to him the said John Eyre by the said Queen Elizabeth by the said Letters Patent No. 1. (amongst other things) unto the said Thomas Badby and Anne his wife, and the heirs and assigns of the the said Thomas Badby for ever,

With warranty against the said John Eyre and his heirs.

30 December, 1581, 23 Elizabeth.

By Deed Poll (with livery and seisin indorsed, &c. &c.)

Henry Blagge, of Harnyngeserth Parva, did give, &c. to Mary the wife of Thomas Badby an annuity of 100 marcs, and also an annuity of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

In consideration of the said several grants of the said annuity, and in consideration of 1200*l.*, the said Thomas Badby did give, grant, and confirm to Henry Grys, Gent. and Richard Hunt, the said Abbey, &c.

To hold all the messuages in School Hall-street, and all those messuages, houses, edifices, barns, stables, gardens, &c. to the said Henry Grys and Richard Hunt, their heirs and assigns, to the use of Thomas Badby and heirs for ever.

And to hold the house called *The Tower*, lying on the North part of the said court called *The Great Court*, and the two parcels of land between the walls there, abutting upon the Abbot's stable, and

on

on the Mill-house, and liberty of ingress, &c. at all times lawful through the said Gate-house into the said Great Court, unto the said Henry Grys and Richard Hunt, their heirs and assigns, to the uses annexed *.

And if the said Henry Blagge made default in payment of the annuities, then the said Henry Grys and Richard Hunt should stand seised of the said premises, to the use of the said Mary Badby.

20 January, 1592, 35 Elizabeth.

By Indenture, &c. reciting that Henry Blagge and Hester his wife were pleased to convey to Sir Robert Jermyn and his heirs, the said Abbey, &c.

20 November, 1594, 36 Elizabeth.

By Indenture, the said Sir Robert Jermyn and Henry Blagge bargain and sell the premises to Edward Cope, Esq.

29 May, 1623.

By Indenture, in consideration of 1000*l.* paid to Erasmus Cope (son of Edward) by Robert Lord Spencer, Sir Robert Meller, and Henry Clarke, and other good considerations, the said Erasmus Cope conveyed the said abbey to the said Robert Lord Spencer, Sir Robert Meller, and Henry Clark.

Proviso to be void on payment by the said Erasmus to Robert Lord Spencer, &c. of 1050*l.* on the 3d December next.

* To the uses of Thomas Badby and Mary his wife for life; remainder to H. Blagge and Hester his wife for ever.

9 July.

9 July, 1625, 1 Car.

The 1050*l.* was not paid by Erasmus Cope. The premises came therefore to Spencer and Clarke (Meller being dead), who, for 1000*l.* conveyed the abbey to Sir George Haftings, his heirs and assigns for ever.

9 Dec. 1626.

By indenture, in consideration of 1050*l.* Sir George Hastings, Erasmus Cope, and Michael Cope, conveyed the abbey to Dame Dorothy Perkins, *alias* Forth.

Dorothy marries William Tyrrell in 1627.

14 June, 1664.

William Tyrrell sells the abbey to Roger Barnes for 1130*l.*

20 Nov. 1672.

By deed poll, &c. for 1024*l.* Roger Barnes sold the estate to Samuel Halls.

10 Dec. 1675.

The premisses left by will to John Halls.

2d and 3d Sept. 1720.

By indenture of lease and release, &c. In consideration of 2,800*l.* John Halls conveyed the abbey and premisses to the use of Major Richardson Pack, his heirs and assigns for ever.

ABSTRACT OF TITLE.

Major *Richardson Pack*, Esq. Title to the site, circuit, and precinct of the said late dissolved Monastery of Bury, otherwise called *Bury St. Edmund's*, with the appurtenances, in Bury St. Edmund's, in the county of Suffolk.

And all that house, messuage, or mansion-house, in Bury St. Edmund's aforesaid, called *The Abbey*, situate within the aforesaid scite of the said late dissolved Monastery.

And all and every the houses, edifices, and buildings whatsoever, to the said messuage or mansion-house adjoining or belonging.

And a parcel of soyle, or ground, now or late called *The Dorter Court*, containing in length 50 feet, to the said messuage or mansion-house adjoining.

And all those buildings, now or late called *The Garners*, or by whatsoever other name or names the same is or were called, situate on the East part of the said mansion-house.

And a stable now or heretofore called *The Abbot's Stables*.

And the house heretofore called *The Hay-house*, to the said stable adjoining.

And all that house and building, with the appurtenances, commonly called *The Gate-house* of the said late Monastery.

And all that ground called *The Great Court*, containing four acres.

And two little closes, or pieces of ground, lying between the hall heretofore called *The King's Hall*.

And two little gardens lying near to the building heretofore of the Chamberer's Office of the said late Monastery.

And one other garden heretofore called *The Lecture Yard*.

And

And the Church-yard, heretofore the Church-yard of the said Monastery, now called *The Ruines.*

And all that ground called *Pond Yard* or *Grounds,* wherein divers ponds now are, or late were.

And all that ground called *The Vine,* with the wall of the site and precinct of the said late Monastery, with the Dove-house upon the same ground.

And all the ponds, streams, waters, and fishings whatsoever, within the said site, circuit, and precinct of the said late Monastery.

And all other the messuages, lands, tenements, buildings, grounds, and premises, to the said site and precinct of the said late Monastery belonging or appertaining:

(Except a little yard, containing about 10 perches, lying at the North-east corner of the said Abbey-yard, which was formerly purchased by Adam Thrift of one Roger Barnes, who was then owner of the said premises.)

All which said premises now are, or late were, in the several tenures of John Hall, John Turner, Esq. Edmund Colman, Esq. Benjamin Broughton, Thomas Foord Singleton, Thomas Pannell, and Henry Pond, or their assigns or under-tenants.

And the bays and waters near without the East gate of Bury St. Edmund's aforesaid, and to the ground and soil within the wall, circuit, and precinct of the said site of the said late dissolved Monastery.

And all liberties, royalties, profits, and commodities whatsoever, to the said site of the said late Monastery belonging or appertaining.

Major Pack soon after assigned the premises to Sir Jermyn Davers, in whose family they still continue.

Possessors of the Abbey.

A. D.
1560. Eyer.
1560. Badby.
1581. Blagge.
1592. Sir Robert Jermyn.
1594. Edward Cope.
—— Erasmus Cope.
1623. Robert Lord Spencer, and Henry Clarke.
1625. Sir George Hastings.
1626. Dorothy Perkins. } married.
William Tyrrell. }
1664. Roger Barnes.
1672. Samuel Halls.
1675. John Halls.
1720. Major Richardson Pack.
Sir Jermyn Davers.
Sir Robert Davers.
Lady Davers.
1804. Mrs. Davers and Sir Charles Davers, the present possessors.

AN ILLUSTRATION

OF THE

MONASTIC HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

TOWN AND ABBEY

OF

ST. EDMUND'S BURY.

PART II.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

THE ABBEY GATE, OR GRAND WESTERN ENTRANCE.

Situation — escaped Demolition — Specimen of the Grandeur of the Monastery — original Gate destroyed — Time of Erection, and Purposes of the present Edifice — Style of Architecture — Composition — Proportions — Embellishments — Size — West Front — Plate Seventh — Niches, and other Gothic Ornaments — Plates Eighth and Ninth — Stair-cases — Terrace and Embrasures — Octagon Towers — Area — Partition — Plate Tenth — Gallery — Anti Gate-way — — Eastern Division, Tracery, and Shields — Plate Eleventh — beautiful Arch — Plate Twelfth — Room — East Window — Prospect.

THIS elegant and venerable structure was the principal entrance to the monastery, and opened into the great court-yard in front of the Abbot's palace.

To those who receive pleasure from contemplating the corruscations of genius and excellence that illumined the darker ages of

liberal science, it affords a considerable gratification that this admirable specimen of ancient art has escaped the destructive attacks of ignorance and cupidity, that demolished the other parts of the monastery. Even the corroding hand of Time seems, in some degree, to have spared this noble building. The materials and workmanship are so excellent, that it is now in a state of preservation much more perfect than might be expected from the number of years it has stood exposed to the inclemency of the elements, without the protection of a roof, and without reparation.

If the other edifices of the abbey corresponded (as we have reason to suppose they did) with this splendid portal, its present appearance must lead us to form an exalted idea of the former grandeur of the whole; an idea that cannot be contemplated without awakening sentiments of commiseration for the fate of so much magnificence; and regret, that such stately memorials of the piety, liberality, and taste of past ages were not permitted longer to enrich and adorn the country.

The original entrance to the abbey having been destroyed in the violent assault made, A. D. 1327, by the inhabitants of the town; the present gate was erected upon a plan combining utility with ornament, and elegance with defence. Its double entrance, portcullis, and brazen gates, presented a strong barrier to the violence of the turbulent townsmen; and its decorative excellence added much to the general splendour of the establishment.

The architecture is of the best period of that style generally termed the *Gothic* *; but which some antiquaries of the present

* See Taylor's Essays of Gothic Architecture, p. 22, introduction, 2d edit. 1802. Exeter Cathedral by the Antiquarian Society of London. Bentham's Ely, p. 32.

day,

day, well qualified to investigate the subject, think might, with more justice and propriety, be distinguished by the honourable appellation of the *English* style *.

The composition is judicious and harmonious: in the West front richness of design predominates; in the East an elegant simplicity.

This style not being confined to any regular and fixed rule, the proportions cannot be examined by a distinct and established criterion. In the instance before us they are admirably contrived to give an elegance and unity of character.

The embellishments, arranged with taste and executed with sharpness and precision, are much more numerous than they appear in earlier specimens; but not in such excessive profusion as they are found in the later and more florid style that prevailed in the reigns of Henry VI. and Henry VII. Its height is about sixty-two feet; and its form approaches a square, being forty-one feet in breadth by fifty in length.

The Western front, a perspective view of which forms the subject of the seventh plate, is divided into two horizontal compartments by an elegant embattled and ornamented band; and perpendicularly into three compartments, a center and two turriated projecting wings. The whole is superbly ornamented with carved

* Sir Christopher Wren, and a few writers influenced by the opinion of so great a man, have asserted that this style ought to be termed the *Saracenic*; but this opinion seems now to be generally rejected; for, although the pointed arch appeared in European buildings about the time the Crusaders returned from the East, yet they do not appear to have adopted the leading and characteristic features of the architecture of the Saracens.

devices and niches for statues; the center containing five single and six double niches, with three small niches in the tympan of the undulated pediment; and in each of the wings are three large single niches. The heads, or groined work, forming the canopies of these niches, are elegant, and the pediments richly adorned with crockets and finials. The center, and two extreme niches of the center compartment, are also further enriched by the pilasters terminating in well-wrought pinnacles. The spandrils of the arch are ornamented with two bosses, or pateræ; and over them, near the top of the building, are two others. Most of these embellishments are still in excellent preservation.

The pillars of the gate-way are composed of clustered cylinders; the capitals are simple, and chiefly the Gothic wreath. The counter arch of the entrance is surmounted by an undulated arch, or pediment, springing from the external capitals, and enriched with crockets similar to those of the niches, the finial of which reaches to the band in the center of the building. In the tympan of this pediment is the before-mentioned compartment of three small niches.

The most striking and important of these ornaments are delineated in the eighth and ninth plates, (No. 1, and No. 2,) detached from their connection with the whole, and on a scale much larger than they could appear in a moderate-sized general view, in some degree to point out the rich and elaborate manner in which they are executed. Comparing these individual representations with their relative situations in the seventh plate, will afford much assistance in forming an idea of the original magnificence of the West front.

Plate, No. 1. Fig. A. A quaterfoil boss, patera, or medallion, in the spandril of the arch over the first gate. There are two of these, and the diameter of each of them measures four feet seven inches.

Fig. B. A boss, patera, or medallion, near the top of the building. There are also two of these between the pilasters, each in diameter six feet. Have these triangles any reference to Freemasonry; or, may they not be intended as symbolical allusions to the Holy Trinity?

Fig. C. The embattled water-table, band, or string, with the quaterfoil enrichment immediately over it, that divides the building into two horizontal compartments or stories. The part here delineated measures five feet ten inches in length, and three feet in height, from the battlements to the bases of the niches, and is situated between the two pilasters of the center nich. Below this embattled water-table is a cavetto moulding, ornamented with several figures. A lion, a dragon, and a bull, may still be perceived; the others are defaced.

Fig. D. A bull worried by dogs; a specimen of the figures in the cavetto: the bull measures eleven inches in length.

Figs. E and F. These uncouth figures project sixteen inches from the cylinders that are on each side of the niches, and form the extremities of the turriated wings of the front. They are thirteen feet from the base, and four in number.

Fig. G. One of the pinnacles which are situated on the pilasters running from the base to the top of the front. Originally there

there were twelve pinnacles similar to this, besides two belonging to the center niche. Time has so defaced the upper set, that the remaining traces of them are very imperfect. The drawing here given was taken from the double niche, Fig. I. The height of the pinnacle is one foot nine inches, the breadth of the pilaster four inches and a half.

Fig. H. Part of the center niche at the top of the building. The breadth between the pilasters measures five feet ten inches; the height of the whole niche, from the quaterfoil enrichment of the water-table to the finial, is twenty-four feet. The crockets of this niche, and of all at the same height from the ground, are plainer or less foliated than those upon the lower niches. The crockets of the canopy are nearly mouldered away, and the finial of the canopy entirely so; it is therefore here restored from other niches of the gate. The finial of the pediment of this niche is not altered or restored, but represented by three plain stones, as it now appears to the eye.

Fig. I. A double niche on each side of the entrance, the height ten feet, the breadth between the pilasters three feet seven inches. The two varieties of crockets that ornament it are depicted on a larger scale, Plate, No. 2, Figs. L and M.

Plate, No. 2. Fig. K. A console, or base for the statue to rest on, belonging to the middle niche at the North angle of the front; its length is eighteen inches.

Fig. L. Three crockets on the pediment of the double niche, represented Plate No. 1, Fig. I. Each crocket is ten inches in length,

length, less foliated, and have more the appearance of unwrought stone than any others on the gate.

Fig. M. Two crockets on the upper canopy of the same double niche. Each crocket is twelve inches long.

Fig. N. Two crockets belonging to the niche, Fig. R. Each of them measures seven inches by four inches.

Fig. O. The finial of the same niche, measuring in height seven inches and a half.

Figs. Q and T. The heads on each side of this niche, each of them measuring six inches. About twenty of these heads are still remaining on this front. The Figs. P and V are representations of two others of them.

Fig. R. The canopy and enrichments of one of the side niches nearest to the ground. The breadth, between the two heads which terminate the exterior arch, three feet ten inches; the height, from the center of a line drawn from the bottom of the two heads to the top of the finial, four feet three inches. The depth of the niche eighteen inches, and its height internally eight feet, and externally complete ten feet.

Fig. S. Three crockets, and part of the mouldings of the arch of the undulated pediment over the gate-way. Each crocket is one foot in length and six inches high. The mouldings of this arch (of which only a very small disproportionate part is given for the sake of showing the crockets), extend in breadth nearly three feet.

In

In the wall and arch is a groove, six inches wide, for the reception of the portcullis *. In the South-west and North-west angles were circular staircases. That at the South-west is still remaining tolerably perfect, by which it is now possible, with some care, to ascend to the platform and parapet.

The *terre-plaine* of the wall constitutes a terrace or platform, which affords a passage round the top of the building. There are five embrasures in each end; and in each side seven.

Over each of these stair-cases there was originally an octagon tower, fourteen feet high. One of these being blown down at the commencement of the last century, the other was soon after taken down. Some parts of the battlements at the North-west and South-west angles are broken off, very probably when the towers were removed. In the view of the West front these parts are represented as restored.

The area is unequally divided into two compartments by a substantial stone partition. The arch of this partition is shewn in plate the tenth, and had gates of brass, the hinges of which are still remaining. Over this arch is a gallery, running across, and communicating at each end, with the stair-cases. The entrances to these stair-cases, and from them to the gallery, is by a door and

* Port-cullis, a very strong grate, spiked at the bottom, to let fall in case of attack or surprize, with opposite groves in the stone-work of the gate-way to direct its fall, and keep it in its place: and generally over it was a machecollated parapet, carried from tower to tower on stone brackets projecting from the wall between them, so as to leave holes through which the defendants, without being exposed to danger, might pour down scalding water, or other annoyances, on the assailants of the gates or port-cullis. Gostling's Canterbury, p. 8.

passage

passage placed on each side of the brazen gates in the interior or Eastern division of the area; by which means, if an enemy had forced the port-cullis, and obtained possession of the anti-gateway, the defendants within would have access to the upper part of the fortress, from whence the assailants might be very much annoyed.

The Eastern division forms a cube of about twenty-eight feet, and, from the projecting remains of those parts of the groins, immediately above the springing still to be seen in the angles, appears to have been vaulted with stone. The internal walls on both sides are highly decorated with light and elegant tracery, of exquisite workmanship, part of which now remaining is represented in the tenth plate, and more fully and distinctly made out in the eleventh. Shields, containing the arms of King Edward the Confessor, Thomas de Brotherton *, and Holland Duke of Exeter, (Plate eleventh) finely cut in stone, form part of the ornaments. But that which generally attracts most attention, is the perfection and beauty of the arch in the East front; its symmetry and elegant proportions are equally gratifying to the eye of taste, and to the scientific observer. In Plate the twelfth, which represents this front, great attention has been bestowed to give an accurate delineation of this admirable arch, which is justly considered as a considerable curiosity, and a pleasing specimen of ancient judgement and taste. It is also worthy of notice, that the stones which form the pillars and mouldings of this arch are of a nature so durable,

* Thomas de Brotherton, second son to Edward I. and half brother to Edward II. was doubtless a benefactor and contributor towards the building. His arms are repeated twice in the most conspicuous part; and still remain in most admirable preservation.

The Arms of Brotherton — Three lions, bar on the top. Blomefield, Norfolk, vol. I. p. 241 and 603.

rable, that, although it has borne the revolution of four centuries, it retains the perfect appearance of work recently erected.

Over this division, a space of nearly equal dimensions, appears to have been a room, the entrance to which was from the gallery over the partition. The vestiges of a roof and a floor are still very evident; and on the North side are the remains of a fire-place. The North and South sides have each two small windows. The purposes to which this spacious room was applied, it is now more easy to speculate upon than to determine *. The *Portarius*, or *Janitor*, had apartments for himself and servants in or near the gate, at which one of them was always to be in attendance. This part of the building, therefore, either as one room or more, was most probably in the custody of the *Portarius*, and perhaps used by him for the reception and temporary accommodation of visitors, till he or his servants could announce their arrival to the Lord Abbot or other chief officers †. In the East end is a grand window of three compartments, the upper one of which is splendidly adorned with tracery peculiarly rich and elegant, and is accurately represented in the lower part of the eleventh plate. This window must have afforded a most enchanting and interesting view. In the fore-ground would appear the Court and Palace of the Abbot, with the magnificent and peaceful abodes of Religion, impressing the imagination with sensations awful and sublime: then the beautiful gardens and vineyard, between which, the Lark and Linnet winding in highly-decorated banks through a fertile valley, unite their waters under the picturesque bridge at the extremity of the Monastery: and beyond these, the extensive swelling fields of St. Edmund's Hill and Eldo Grange gradually melt into the horizon, and bound the prospect.

* The great gates of monasteries were applied to several uses, as appears from that at St. Alban's, &c. &c.

† See Part I. p. 199.

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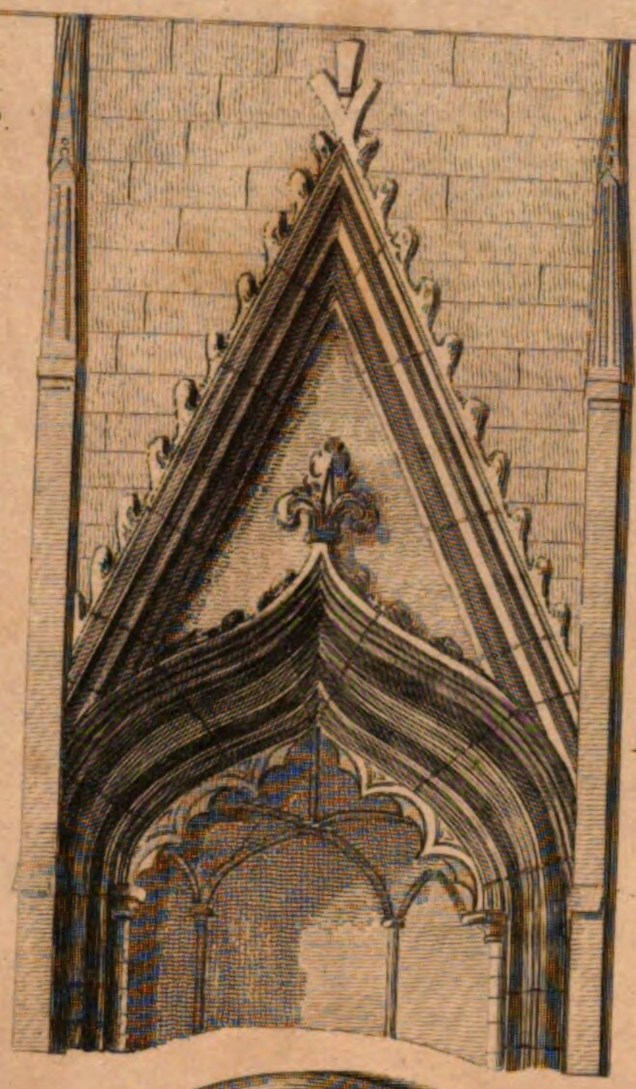

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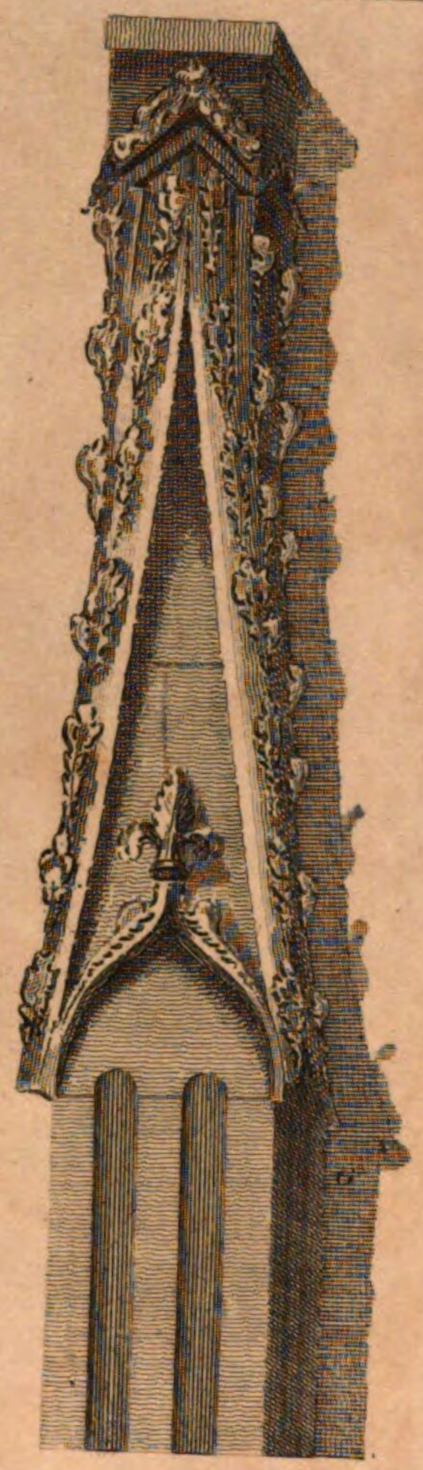

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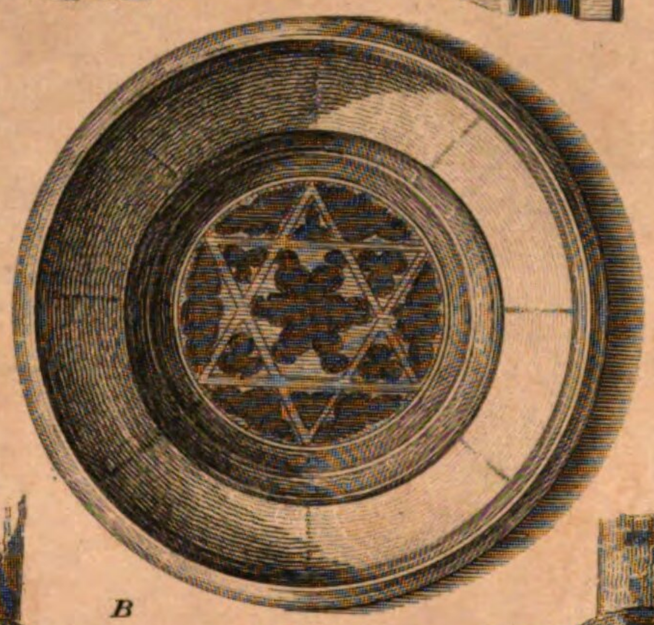

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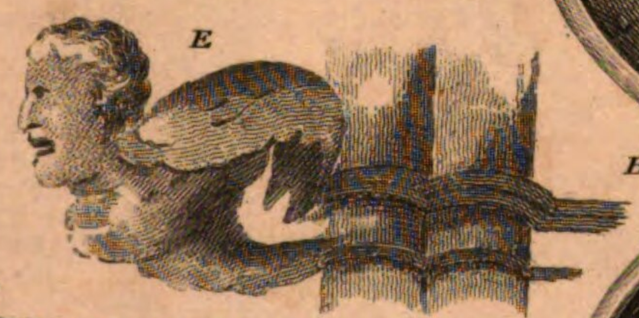

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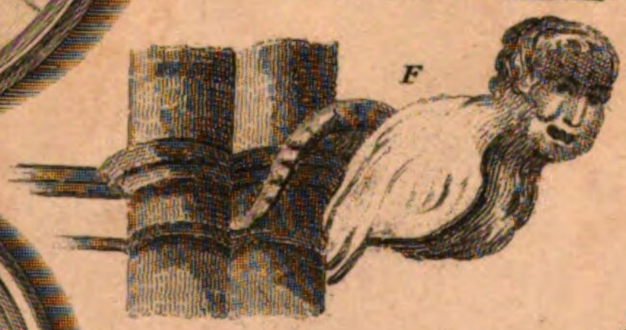

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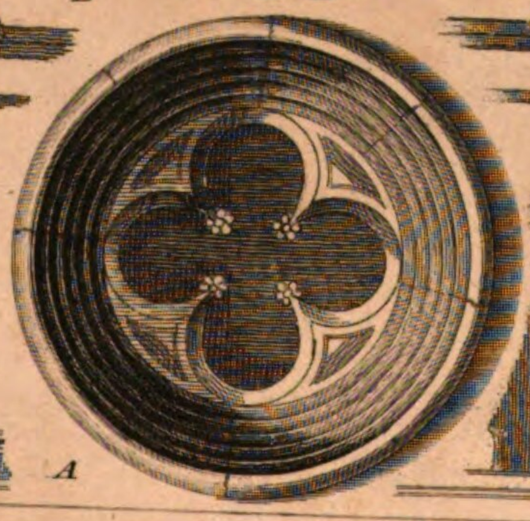

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W. Yates delin. et

François Hery Sculp.

GOTHIC ORNAMENTS. N°1.

Pub.d as the Act directs Oct. 1. 1804. by Wm Millar. 49. Albemarle Street.

W Yates delin. Scrip

Francois Hery Sculp.t

GOTHIC ORNAMENTS. N.º 2.

Published as the Act directs Oct.r 1.st 1804. by W.m Millar, 49. Albemarle Street.

W. Yates addim.

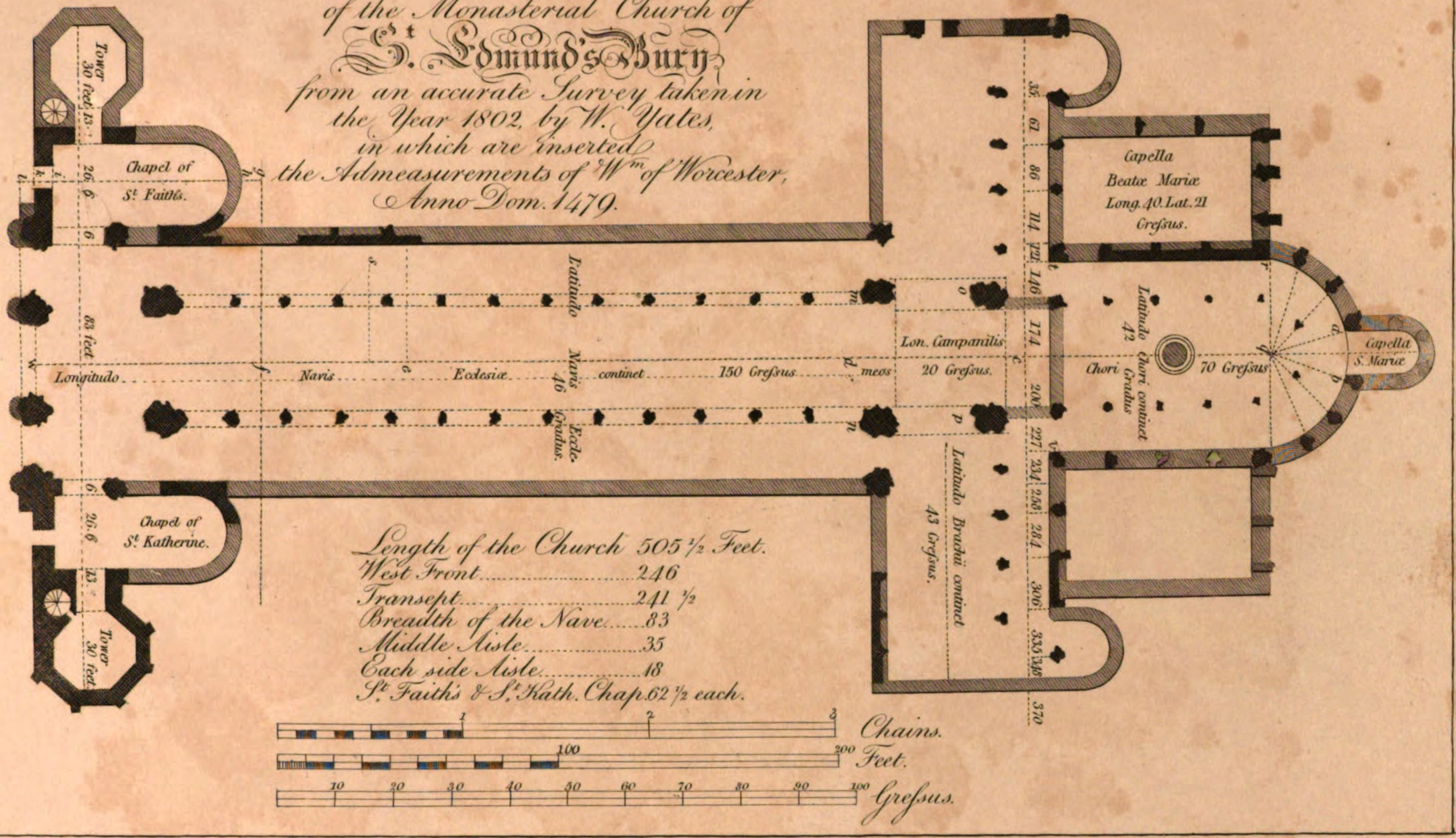
Francois Hery Sculp.

SEALS.

Publd as the Act directs. Oct 1, 1804. by Wm Millar. 49 Albemarle Street.

A Plan of the Monasterial Church of St. Edmund's Bury

from an accurate Survey taken in the Year 1802, by W. Yates, in which are inserted the Admeasurements of Wm. of Worcester, Anno Dom. 1479.



W. Yates delin. et scrip.

Francis Hery Sculp.

PLAN.

Published as the Act directs, Oct.r 1.st 1804, by Wm. Millar 49 Albemarle Street.

APPENDIX.

No. I. Foundation of the Free School.

EDWARDUS SEXTUS, Dei gratiâ, Anglie, Francie, et Hib'nie rex, fidei defenſor, et in terra eccl'ie Anglicane et Hibernice ſupremum caput, omnibus ad quos preſentes littere pervenerint, ſalutem. Sciatis quod nos, ad humilem petic'onem inhabitantium ville de Bury Sancti Edmundi, in com' Suff', nobis pro ſcolâ gramaticali ibidem erigend' et ſtabiliend', pro inſtituc'o'e et inſtrucc'o'e pueror' et juvenum, de gr'â n'râ ſpeciali, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, necnon de aviſamento conſilii n'ri, volumus, concedimus, et ordinamus, q'd de cetero ſit et erit una ſcola gramaticalis in dictâ villâ de Bury Sancti Edmundi, que vocabitur "Libera ſcola grammaticalis regis Edwardi Sexti, pro educac'o'e, inſtituc'o'e, et inſtrucc'o'e pueror' et juvenum in grammaticâ perpetuis temporib's duratur';" ac ſcolam illam de uno magiſtro ſeu pedagogo, et uno hipodidaſculo ſeu ſub-pedagogo, pro perpetuo continuatur', erigimus, ereximus, ordinamus, et fundamus, per preſentes. Et ut intentio n'ra p'd'c'a meliorem capiat effe'm, et ut terr', tenementa, reddit', revenc'o'es, et alia ad ſuſtentac'o'em ſcole pred'c'e concedend', aſſignand', et appunctuand', melius gubernentur pro continuac'o'e ejuſdem, volumus et ordinamus, q'd de cetero in p'p'm ſint et erint ſexdecim diſcreti et probi homines, qui erunt et vocabuntur gubernatores poſſeſſionum, revencionum, & bonor' d'c'e ſcole, vulgariter vocat' et vocand' "Libera ſcola grammaticalis regis Edwardi Sexti, in Bury Sancti Edmundi, in com' Suff'." Et ideo ſciatis, q'd nos aſſignavimus, eligimus, nominavimus, et conſtituimus, et per preſentes aſſignamus, eligimus, nominamus, et conſtituimus, dilectos nobis Will'm Maye, cl'icum, legum doctorem, decanum eccl'ie cathedralis Divi Pauli London', Rich'm Bacon, armig'um, Joh'em Eyer, armig'um, Chriſtopherum Peyton, armig'um, Henricum Payne, armig'm, Will'm Taſſett, generoſum, Steph'um Haywarde, generoſum, Rogerum Barbour, Joh'em Battie, Will'm Baker, Thomam Corſage, Rob'tum Sharpe, Will'm Cheſton, Thomam Horſeman, Thomam Stacye, et Thomam Andrews, yeomen, fore et eſſe primos et modernos gubernatores poſſeſſionum, revencionum, et bonorum d'c'e libere ſcole grammaticalis regis Edwardi Sexti, in Bury Sancti Edmundi, in com' Suff', ad idem officium bene et fideliter exercend' et occupand'

à dat' preſentium, durant' vitâ eor'. Et, q'd iidem gubernatores in re, fact', et nomine, de cetero ſint et erint unum corpus corporatum et politiquum de ſe in perpetuum, per nomen *Gubernatores poſſeſſionum, revencionum, et bonorum libere ſcole grammaticalis regis Edwardi Sexti, in Bury Sancti Edmundi, in com' Suff'*, per preſentes incorporamus, ac corpus corporatum et politiquum per idem nomen in p'p'm duratur' realiter et ad plenum creavimus, erigimus, ordinamus, facimus, et conſtituimus, per preſentes. Et volumus, ac per preſentes ordinamus et concedimus, q'd iidem gubernatores poſſeſſionum, revencionum, et bonorum libere ſcole grammaticalis regis Edwardi Sexti, in Bury Sancti Edmundi, in com' Suff', h'eant ſucceſſionem perpetuam, et per idem nomen ſint et erunt perſone habiles et in lege capaces ad habend' et recipiend' de nobis manerium, terr', tenementa, prata, paſcua, paſtur', redditus, reveriiones, poſſeſſiones, revenc'o'es, et hereditamenta ſubſcript' et inferius ſpecificat', ac alia terras, ten'ta, poſſeſſiones, revenc'o'es, et hereditamenta quecunque, de nobis ſive de aliquâ aliâ perſonâ ſeu aliis perſonis. Et ordinamus et decernimus per p'ſentes, q'd quandocunque contigerit aliquem vel aliquos d'cor' ſexdecim gubernator' pro tempore exiſten' mori, tunc et totiens bene liceat et licebit aliis d'cor' gubernator' ſuperviventibus, vel majori parti eor'dem, aliam idoneam perſonam, vel alias idoneas perſonas, de inhabitantibus ville de Bury Sancti Edmundi predict', in locum vel locos ſic morientis vel morientium in d'c'o officio gubernator' ſucceſſur' eligere et nominare, et hoc totiens quotiens caſus ſic accederit. Et ſciatis, q'd nos intenc'o'em et propoſit' n'r'm in hâc parte ad effectum deducere volentes, de gr'â n'râ ſpeciali, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, necnon de aviſamento conſilii n'ri, dedimus et conceſſimus, ac per preſentes damus et concedimus, prefatis gubernatoribus poſſeſſionum, revencionum, et bonorum d'c'e libere ſcole grammaticalis, totam nuper Cantariam in Kyrketon, alias Shotley, cum ſuis juribus et pertinentiis univerſis, in com' n'ro Suff', ac om'ia terras, tenementa, prata, paſturas, et hereditamenta noſtra, voc' ſeu cognit' per nomen vel per n'i'a de Hauſſett, Strype, Hayles, Crowys tenement', et Cookes, ſituat', jacen', et exiſten' in Kyrketon, alias dict' Shotley, ac in Chelympton, in d'c'o com' Suff', d'c'e nuper Cantarie dudum ſpectan' et pertinen', ac parcell' poſſeſſionum inde nuper exiſten', ac om'ia terras, tenementa, prata, paſcuas, paſturas, redditus, reverſiones, ſervitia, et hereditame'ta n'ra quecunque, cum pertinenciis, modo vel nuper in ſeparalibus tenuris ſive occupac'o'ibus Joh'nis Fekythet, Margarete ux'is ejus, Rich'i Cherſters, Joh'is Foſdyke junioris, Rob'ti Denny, Thome Sterling, Ric'i Burwell, Thome Brandeſton, Auguſtini Pelle, et Joh'is Bull, ſcituat', jacen', et exiſten' in Kyrketon, alias Shotley, et Chelympton predict', ſeu alibi, d'c'e nuper Cantarie dudum ſpectan' vel pertinen', aut parcell' poſſeſſionum inde nuper exiſten', ac om'ia alia terras, tenementa, prata, paſcuas, paſturas, redditus, reverſiones, ſervitia, et hereditamenta n'ra

n'ra quecunque, cum eor' pertinentiis univerſis, in Kyrketon, Shotley, et Chelympton predict', ac alibi ubicunque, d'c'e nuper Cantarie quoquomodo ſpectan' vel pertinen', aut ut parcell', terrar', poſſeſſionum, et revenſionum ejuſdem nuper Cantarie antehac habit', cognit', accept', uſitat', ſeu reputat' exiſten'; necnon totam nuper Cantariam vocat' "Clopton's Chauntrye in Melford, in d'c'o com' noſtro Suff'," cum ſuis juribus et pertinenciis univerſis, ac om'ia terras, tenementa, boſcos, et hereditamenta n'ra quecunque, vocat', ſeu cognit', per nomen vel per nomina de Ives, Byrdes, Barners, Spycers, Mannyngs, Talbons, Pennycrofte, et Fayrmann's Cloſe, ſituat', jacen', et exiſten' in vill', campis, parochiis, et hamelett' de Melford, Waldyngfelde, Semere, et Carſey, in d'c'o com' Suff', d'c'e nuper Cantarie, vocat' Clopton's Chauntrye dudum ſpectan' et pertinen'; ac om'ia meſſuagia, domos, edificia, terras, tenementa, prata, paſcuas, paſturas, boſcos, redditus, reverc'o'es, ſervitia, et hereditamenta n'ra quecunque, cum pertinenciis, modo vel nuper in ſeparalibus tenuris ſive occupac'o'ibus Simonis Colman, Gilberti Butler, Johannis Woode, Johannis Munſon, et Margarete Newman, vidue, ſcituat', jacen', et exiſten' in Melforde, Waldyngfeld, Semere, et Carſey predict', ac alibi ubicumque, in eodem com', d'c'e nuper Cantarie vocat' Clopton's Chauntrye dudum ſpectan' et pertinen', ac parcell' poſſeſſionum inde nuper exiſten'; ac om'ia alia meſſuagia, domos, edificia, horrea, ſtabula, columbaria, ortos, pomaria, gardina, terras, tenementa, prata, paſcuas, paſturas, boſcos, redditus, reverſiones, ſervitia, et hereditamenta n'ra quecunque, in Melforde, Waldyngfelde, Semere, et Carſey predict', ac alibi ubicunque, d'c'e nuper Cantarie vocat' Clopton's Chauntrye, quoquomodo ſpectan' vel pertinen', aut ut parcell' poſſeſſionum n'r'm ſeu revencionum ejuſdem nuper Cantarie antehac habit', cognit', accept', uſitat', ſeu reputat' exiſten'; ac etiam totum illud manerium n'r'm de Collyngham Hall, cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinentiis univerſis, in d'c'o com' Suff', nuper Cantarie, vocat' Frey Chauntrye, fundat' infra parochiam Sancti Bartholomei Parvi, in civitate London, dudum ſpectan' et pertinen', ac parcell' poſſeſſionum inde nuper exiſten', ac om'ia terras, tenementa, prata, paſcuas, paſturas, redditus, reverſiones, ſervitia, et hereditamenta noſtra quecunque, modo vel nuper in ſeparalibus tenuris, ſive occupac'o'ibus, Will'i Clopton, Johannis Clopton, Thome Hygham ſenioris, Clementis Higham, et Ric'i Hygham, ſituat', jacen', et exiſten' in Caundyſhe et Glemysforde, in d'c'o com' Suff', ac alibi ubicumque in eodem com', d'c'o Manerio de Collyngham Hall, dudum ſpectan' vel pertinen', aut parcell' poſſeſſionum inde nuper exiſten'; necnon totum illud capitale meſſuagium ſive tenementum n'rum, ac unum ortum et unum gardinum n'ra, eidem capitale meſſuagio adjacen', ac alia terras, tenementa, et hereditamenta n'ra quecunque, cum pertinentiis, modo vel nuper in tenurâ ſive occupac'o'e Joh'is Davers, ſituat', jacen',

jacen', et exiſten', in Shotley, in d'c'o com' Suff', et que ad manus n'ras nuper devenerunt vel devenire debuerunt, r'one et pretextu cujuſdam actus de quibuſdam collegiis, cantariis, liberis capellis, gildis, et fraternitatibus diſſolvend', ac de terris, tenementis, poſſeſſionibus, et revencionibus, ad ſuſtentac'o'em preſbitor', lampadum, luminar', et anniverſarior', aſſignat' et appunctuat', in parliamento n'ro tento apud Weſtm' anno regni n'ri primo, int' alia edit' et proviſ'. Damus etiam, et per preſentes concedimus, prefatis gubernatoribus reverſionem et reverſiones quecunque o'n'um et ſingulor' premiſſor' et cujuſce inde parcell', necnon redditus et annualia proficua quecunque reſervat' ſuper quibuſcunque donaſſionibus et conceſſionibus de premiſſis, ſeu de aliqua inde parcell' quoquomodo fact'. Damus etiam, et per preſentes concedimus, prefatis gubernatoribus om'ia et ſingula premiſſa ſuperius expreſſit' et ſpecificata, adeo plenè, liberè, et integrè, ac in tam amplis modo et formâ, prout aliq'm Cantariſt', capellam, vel incumben' d'car' nuper' Cantariar' ſeu ear' alicujus, aut aliquis alius ſive aliqui alii premiſſ', aut aliquam inde parcell' antehac h'entes, poſſidentes, aut ſeiſiti inde exiſten' eadem aut aliquam inde parcell' unqu'm h'uerunt, tenuerunt, vel gaviſi fuerunt, h'uit, tenuit, vel gaviſus fuit, ſeu h'ere, tenere, vel gaudere debuerunt aut debuit, et adeo plenè, liberè, et integrè, ac in tam amplis modo et formâ, prout ea om'ia et ſingula ad manus n'ras r'one et pretextu d'c'i actûs parliamenti, ſeu quocunque alio modo, jure, ſeu titulo devenerunt, ſeu devenire debuerunt, ac in manibus n'ris tam exiſtunt, ſeu exiſtere debent vel deberent; et ulterius de ampliori gr'â n'râ damus, et per preſentes concedimus, prefatis gubernatoribus infra predict' manerium, meſſuag', terr', tenement', ac cetera om'ia ſingula premiſſa, cum pertinenciis, et in quâlibet inde parcell', tot', tanta, talia, eadem hujuſmodi et conſimilia cur' letas, viſ' francpleg', catalla, waviata, extrahuras, catalla felonum et fugitivor', liberas warrennas, ac aſſiſam et aſſaiam panis, vini, et cerviſie, necnon nundinas, mercat', tolnet', cuſtumas, ac om'ia alia jur'a, juriſdicc'o'es, franchefias, libertates, privilegia, proficua, com'oditates, et hereditamenta quecunque, q'ot, quanta, qualia, et que, ac adeo plenè, liberè, et integrè, ac in tam amplis modo et formâ, p'ut aliquis vel aliqui premiſſa, aut aliquam inde parcell' antehac h'entes, poſſidentes, aut ſeiſiti, inde exiſten' unq'm h'uerunt, tenuerunt, vel gaviſi fuerunt, h'uit, tenuit, vel gaviſus fuit, ſeu here' tenere, vel gaudere debuerunt aut debuit, in pred'c'o manerio ac ceteris premiſſis, aut in aliquâ inde parcell', r'one vel pretextu alicujus carte, doni, conceſſionis, vel confirmac'o'is, aut aliquar' li'ar' patent' per nos ſeu per aliquem progenitor' n'ror' regum Anglie alicui perſone vel aliquibus perſonis quoquo fact' conceſſ' ſeu confirmat', aut r'one vel pretextu alicujus preſcripc'o'is, usûs, ſeu conſuetudinis, antehac h'uit', ſeu uſitat', vel aliter quoquomodo; que quidem manerium, meſſuagia, terre, tenementa, redditus, reverſiones, ſervitia, et

cetera

cetera om'ia et ſingula premiſſa ſup'ius expreſſa et ſpecificat', cum pertinentiis, modo extenduntur ad clarum annuum valorem viginti unius librar' et octo ſolidor' legalis monete Anglie; habend', tenend', et gaudend' predict' manerium, meſſuagia, terras, tenementa, prata, paſcuas, paſturas, co'ias, moras, mariſcos, boſcos, ſubboſcos, redditus, reverc'o'es, ſervitia, cur' letas, vif' francpleg', catalla, waviata, extrahur', lib'as warrennas, ac cetera om'ia et ſingula premiſſa ſuperius expreſſa et ſpecificat', cum pertinentiis, prefatis gubernatoribus poſſeſſionum, revencionum, et bonorum d'c'e libe' ſcole, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, in perp'm, tenend' de nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, ut de manerio n'ro de Eſt Grenewiche, in com' n'ro Kanc', per fidelitatem, in libero ſocagio, ac reddend' inde annuatim nobis, heredibus vel ſucceſſoribus n'ris, viginti et octo ſolidos legalis monete Anglie ad Curiam n'ram Augmentionum et revencionum corone n're, ad feſtum Sc'i Mich'is Arch'i, ſingulis annis ſolvend', pro om'ibus ſervitiis et demand' quibuſcunque. Necnon dedimus et conceſſimus, ac per preſentes damus et concedimus, prefat' gubernatoribus om'ia exitus, redditus, revenc'o'es, et proficua predict' manerii, terrar', tenementor', et ceteror' premiſſor', à feſto Annunciationis Beate Marie Virginis ultimo preterito hucuſque provenien' ſive creſcen', h'end' eiſdem gubernatoribus ex dono, n'ro, abſq' computo ſeu aliquo alio proinde nobis, heredibus vel ſucceſſoribus n'ris, quoquomodo reddend', ſolvend', vel faciend'. Et ulterius volumus, ac pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, per preſentes concedimus, prefatis gubernatoribus et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, q'd de cetero in perpetuum h'eant co'e ſigillum ad negotia ſua premiſſa, et cetera in hiis l'ris n'ris paten' expreſſ' et ſpecificat', ſeu aliquam inde parcell' tantummodo tangen' ſeu concernen' deſervitur'; et q'd ip'i gubernatores per nomen "Gubernator' poſſeſſionum, revencionum, et bonorum libere ſcole grammaticalis regis Edwardi Sexti, in Bury Sancti Edmundi, com' Suff'," pl'itare poſſint et impl'itari, defendere et defendi, reſpondere et reſponderi, in quibuſcunque curiis et locis, et coram quibuſcumque judicibus, in quibuſcumque cauſis, actionibus, negotiis, ſectis, querelis, pl'itis, et demand', cujuſcumque nature ſeu condic'o'is fuer', premiſſ', ac cetera ſubſcript', aut aliquam inde parcell', aut pro aliquibus offenſis, tranſgreſſionibus, rebus, cauſis, vel materiis, per aliquas perſonas ſeu aliquam perſonam fact' ſeu perpetrat', aut f'iend' vel perpetrand', in vel ſuper premiſſis, aut aliquâ inde parcell', aut aliquod in preſentibus ſpecificat', tangen', ſeu concernen'. Et ulterius, de uberiori gr'â n'râ, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, necnon de aviſamento pred'c'o, dedimus et conceſſimus, ac per preſentes damus et concedimus, prefatis gubernatoribus et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, ac majori parti eor'dem, plenam poteſtatem et auctoritatem nominand' et appunctuand' pedagogum et hypodidaſculum ſcole pred'c'e, totiens quotiens ead'm ſcola de pedagogo vel hipodidaſtulo vacua fuerit; et q'd ip'i

gubernatores,

gubernatores, cum aviſamento ep'i Norwicen' pro tempore exiſten', de tempore in tempus, faciant et facere valeant et poſſint, idonea et ſalubr' ſtatut' et ordinac'o'es in ſcript' concernen' et tangen' ordinem, gubernac'o'em, et direcc'o'em pedagogi et hipodidaſculi et ſcolarium ſcole pred'c'e pro tempore exiſten', ac ſtipend' et ſalar' eor'dem pedagogi et hipodidaſculi, ac alia eandem ſcolam, ac ordinac'o'em, gubernac'o'em, preſervac'o'em, et diſpoſic'o'em reddit', reven', ad ſuſtentac'o'em ejuſdem ſcole appunctuat' et appunctuand', tangen' et concernen'; que quidem ſtatuta et ordinac'o'es ſic f'iend' volumus, concedimus, et per preſentes precipimus, immolabiliter obſervari de tempore in tempus in perpetuum. Et ulterius, de uberiori gr'â noſtrâ, et de aviſamento pred'c'o, dedimus et conceſſimus, ac per preſentes damus et concedimus, prefat' gub'natoribus poſſeſſionum, revencionum, et bonorum d'c'e lib'e ſcole grammaticalis regis Edwardi Sexti, in Bury Sancti Edmundi predict', et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, licentiam ſpecialem lib'amque et licitam facultatem, poteſtatem, et auctoritatem, habend', recipiend', et perquirend', eis et eor' ſucceſſ' in perpetuum, tam de nobis, heredibus vel ſucceſſoribus n'ris, quam de aliis quibuſcunque perſonis et aliâ perſonâ quacunque, maner', meſſuag', terr', ten'ta, rectorias, decimas, aut alia hereditamenta quecunque, infra regnum Anglie, ſeu alibi infra d'nia n'râ, dummodo non excedant clar' annuum valorem viginti librar' ſterlingor' ultra dict' maner', meſſuag', terr', tenementa, et cetera premiſſa, prefatis gubernatoribus et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, ut prefertur, per nos in formâ pred'c'â conceſſ'; ſtatuta de terris et tenementis ad manum mortuam non ponend', aut aliquo alio ſtatuto, actu, ordinac'o'e, ſeu proviſione, aut aliquâ aliâ re, causâ, vel materiâ quacunque, in contrarium inde habit', fact', ordinat', ſeu proviſ', in aliquo non obſtant'. Et volumus etiam, ac de aviſamento pred'c'o, ex certâ ſcientiâ & mero motu n'ris, per preſentes concedimus prefatis gubernatoribus, q'd h'eant et h'ebunt has l'ras n'ras patentes ſub magno ſigillo n'ro Anglie debit' modo fact' et ſigillat', abſque fine ſeu feodo magno vel parvo nobis in Hanap'io n'ro ſeu alibi, ad uſum n'r'm quoquomodo reddend', ſolvend', vel faciend', eo q'd expreſſa mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine premiſſor', ſive eor' alicujus, aut de aliis donis ſive conceſſionibus per nos prefatis gubernatoribus et ſucceſſoribus ſuis ante hec tempora fact', in preſentibus minimè fact', exiſtit, aut aliquo ſtatuto, actu, ordinac'o'e, proviſione, ſeu reſtricc'o'e inde in contrarium fact', edit', ordinat', ſive proviſ', aut aliquâ aliâ re, causâ, vel materiâ quacunque, in aliquo non obſtante. In cujus rei teſtimonium, has l'ras n'ras fieri facimus patentes. Teſte meipſo, apud Leighes, tertio die Auguſti, anno regni n'ri quarto.

No. II.

No. II. Copy of a Grant (inter alia) of the Office of CHIEF STEWARD of the Liberty of BURY SAINT EDMUND'S, in the County of SUFFOLK.

27th June, 1ſt James, 1602.

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. ſal't'm. Sciatis q'd nos, tam pro et in conſiderac'o'ne boni, veri, et acceptabilis ſervitii nob' per predilect' et fideles conſiliar' n'ros Thomam d'num Howard baronem de Walden, et Henr' Howard fr'em, Thome nuper ducis Norf', et filium Henr' nup' comitis Surr', antehac fact' et impenſ', q'm pro diverſis aliis bonis cauſis et conſiderac'o'ibus nos ad preſens ſpecialit' moven', de gr'â n'râ ſp'iali, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, dedimus et conceſſimus, ac per preſentes, pro nob', heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, damus et concedimus prefat' Thome d'no Howard baroni de Walden, et Henrico Howard, heredibus et aſſign' ſuis, tot' ill' caſtr', d'nium, et maner' n'r'm de Ryſing, alias Ryſing ad Caſtrum, in com' n'ro Norf', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac totam illam chaſeam n'ram de Ryſing, in eodem com' n'ro Norf', cum ſuis juribus, membris, lib'tat', et pertinen' univerſis, ac totum illud d'nium et maner' n'r'm de Earſham, ac parcum n'ram de Earſham, et dimid' hundred' n'ri de Earſham, in pred'c'o com' n'ro Norf', cum om'ibus et ſingulis ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac tot' ill' honor', d'nium, et maner' n'r'm de Forncett, in d'c'o com' n'ro Norf', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac om'ia illa d'nia et maner' n'ra de Hanworth, Acle, Litle Framlingham alias Earle Framlingham, Garboldſham, Uphall, Bokenham, et Wiggenhall, Halveryate, Briſſingham, Suffyld, Sherringham, Wells, Wareham, Siſeland, Ducleborough, et Loddon, in pred'c'o com' n'ro Norf', cum omnibus et ſingulis ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac om'es ill' reddit' et feod' firm' n'ros nob' annuatim exeun', pervenien', et emergen', de aut extra maner' de Wroxham et Salhowſe, in pred'c'o com' Norf', et al' terr' et ten' eiſdem maner' de Wroxham et Sallhowſe, aut eor' alter', pertinen' ſive ſpectan'; ac omnes ill' reddit' et profic' n'ros annuatim exeun', pervenien', ſive emergen', de quibuſd'm terr', ten'tis, ſive hereditamen', in Hitcham, in pred'c'o com' Norf', nup' priorat' de Caſtle Acre, in pred'c'o com' Norf', modo diſſolut', quondam ſpectan' et pertinen', aut p'cell' poſſeſſion' ejuſdem nup' priorat' quondam exiſten'; ac om'es ill' annual' reddit' et p'fic', penc'o'es et porc'o'es n'ra quecunque, in d'c'to com' n'ro Norf', nup' priorat' monachor' de Thetford, in eodem com' Norf', modo diſſolut', quondam ſpectan' et pertinen', aut parcell' poſſeſſionum ejuſdem nup' priorat'

priorat' quondam exiſten'; ac om'es ill' annual' reddit' et profic', ac penc'o'es et porc'o'es n'ras quecunque, in d'c'o com' n'ro Norf', nup' d'c'o priorat' de Caſtle Acre modo diſſolut' quondam ſpectan' et pertinen', aut parcell' poſſeſſionum ejuſdem nup' prioratûs quondam exiſten'; ac om'es ill' annual' reddit', penc'o'es, et porc'o'es n'ra quecunque, exeun', pervenien', ſeu emergen' de aut extra quibuſdam terr', ten'tis, ſive hereditamen' in Marham, Roughton, Maſſingham, Molends, Congham, Wereham, et Weſtruddham, in pred'c'o com' Norf'; ac om'es ill' reddit', penc'o'es, et porc'o'es n'ra, annuatim exeun', pervenien', ſive emergen' de aut extra quibuſdam terr', ten', ſive hereditamen' in Bodney et Kempſton, in pred'c'o com' Norf'; ac totam illam lib'am piſcar' et piſcac'o'em n'ram ac lib'tat' piſcand' in aquâ de Helgay, in pred'c'o com' Norf'; ac totam illam rectoriam n'ram de Roughton, in d'c'o com. Norf', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac totum illud ten'tum n'rum vocat Ireland's, ſcituat' et exiſten' in Briſſingham, in pred'c'o com' n'ro Norf', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac om'ia terras, ten'ta, et hereditamenta n'ra quecunque, eidem ten'to vocat' Irelands, ſpectan' ſive pertinen', ſeu ut pars vel parcell' ejuſdem habit' ſeu reputat'; ac tot' ill' hundred' noſtr' de Laundiſhe, alias Laundiche, in pred'c'o com' n'ro Norf', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac om'es illos boſcos n'ros vocat' ſive cognit' per ſep'alia nomina de Overhall Wood et Cowcroſte Wood, in Earſham, in pred'c'o com' Norf'; ac om'es ill' boſcos n'ros vocat' ſive cognit' per ſep'alia nomina de Porreland Parke-wood, Eaſthall-wood, Howard Grove, et Edriges-wood, in Framlingham Parvâ, in pred'c'o com' Norf'; ac om'ia illa caſtra, d'nia, et maner' n'ra de Framlingham, alias Framlingham ad Caſtr', Hacheſton, et Saxted, in com' n'ro Suff', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac totum illum parcum n'r'm de Framlingham, alias Framlingham ad Caſtr', in pred'c'o com' Suff', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac tot' illud meſſuagium ſive ten'tum n'r'm, ac om'es illas terras, prat', ſive paſtur' n'ra, continen' per eſtimac'o'em centum octoginta acras, eidem parco de Framlingham contigua ſive p'pe adjacen', ac jacen' et exiſten' in Framlingham, Dynnington, et Okenhill Hall, ſeu eor' aliquo, in pred'c'o com' Suff'; ac totum illum caſtrum, d'nium, et maner' n'r'm de Bungaye, ac ſocam n'ram de Bungaye, in pred'c'o com' Suff', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertin' univerſis; ac totum ill' fundum, ſolum, terr', et ten' noſtr', vocat' ſive cognit' per ſep'alia nomina de Stowe Parke et Barwicke, in pred'c'o com' Suff', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac totum illud d'nium et maner' n'r'm de Earle Soham, in pred'c'o com' n'ro Suff', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac totum ill' parcum de Earle Soham, in d'c'o com' Suff', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac om'ia illa maner' n'ra de Hoſeley cum Sutton, Kettleborough alias

alias Kettlebergh, et Cratfeild, in d'c'o com' Suff', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; necnon totum illud hundred' de Loes, in d'c'o com' Suff', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac omnes illos boſcos n'ros vocat' ſeu cognit' per ſep'alia n'i'a de Bradley Wood, Herſt Wood, Butnawle Wood, Bradley Wood, Newell Wood, et Offrye Wood, in Framlingham et Saxted, ſive eor' alter', in d'c'o com' Suff'; ac totum illud officium capital' ſeneſchall' franchef' et lib'tat' de Buri Sancti Edmundi, in pred'c'o com' Suff', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac omnes illos annual' reddit' et ꝑfic' n'ros annuatim exeun', provenien', ſive emergen', de aut extra quibuſdam terr', ten', ſive hereditamen', in Weſtleton, Cookley, et Wedneſton alias Wenhaſton, in pred'c'o com' Suff'; ac omnes illos annual' reddit' et ꝑfic' n'ros annuatim exeun', pervenien', ſive emergen', de aut extra quibuſdam terr', ten', hereditamen', in Freſingfeild, in pred'c'o com' n'ro Suff', nup' parcell' d'nii ſive manerii de Ufford Hall, in eodem com' Suff', exiſten'; ac omnes illos annual' reddit' annuatim exeun', pervenien', ſive emergen', de aut extra quibuſdam terr' et ten' in Munckeſhall in Sileham, in d'c'o com' n'ro Suff', nup' parcell' nup' diſſolut' priorat' monachor' de Thetford predict', ac omnes ill' rectorias et eccl'ias n'ras Sancte Margarete et Sancti Andree in Ilketſhall, in pred'c'o com' Suff', cum omnibus et ſingulis ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac totum illum annual' reddit' nonaginta ſeptem librar', decem ſolidor', decem denarior' unius oboli, exeun' de et ex d'nio, caſtr', et maner' de Folkingham, in com' n'ro Lincoln', cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis; ac omnia illa d'nia et maner' n'ra de Hekington, Ruſkington, Carethorpe, Weſtborough, Stubton, et Doddington, in pred'c'o com' n'ro Lincoln', cum omnibus et ſingulis ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinenciis univerſis; ac omnia et ſingula ill' terr', ten'ta, reddit', et hereditament' n'ra, vocat' per nomen ſive per nomina de Hungate et Beamonds rents, cum ſuis pertinen', in pred'c'o com' Lincoln'; ac omnes ill' annual' reddit' et profic' noſtr' quecunque ſex librar', tresdecim ſolidor', quatuor denarior', annuatim exeun', pervenien', ſive emergen', de aut extra quibuſdam terr', ten'tis, et hereditamen' n'ris, vocat' Monkeſwick in Wodditton, in com' n'ro Cantabr', nup' parcell' nup' diſſolut' priorat' monach' de Thetford predict'; ac tot' ill' honor', d'nium, et maner' n'ra de Clune, in com' n'ro Salop, cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis. Dedimus etiam et conceſſimus, ac de ub'iori gr'â n'râ ſp'iali, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, per preſentes, pro nob', heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, damus et concedimus prefatis Thome D'no Howard Baroni de Walden, et Henr' Howard, hered' et aſſign' ſuis, omnia et ſingula advocac'o'es, donac'o'es, lib'as diſpoſic'o'es, preſentac'o'es, et jur' p'ronat' n'ra quecunque, omnium et ſingul' eccl'iar' et capellar' quar'cunque de Forncett, Southwalſham, Paringland, Weſtwick, Gillingham, Rockland, Holneſton, alias Haſneſton,

Aldborough, Starſton, Hethill Longa, Stratton Sainct Peter, Wacton Magna, Wacton Parva, Earſham, Frytton, Colby et Alby, Aldburghe, Winneſton, Windell, Ellingham, Stockton, Redinhall, Bixley, Brockdiſh, Banningham, Antingham, et Denton, cum ſuis juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis, in pred'c'o com' n'ro Norf'; ac advocac'o'es, donac'o'es, lib'as diſpoſic'o'es, preſentac'o'es, et jur' p'ronat' n'ras quecunque, omnium et ſingul' eccl'iar', vicar', et capellar' quar'cunque, de Soham comitis, Hoſeley, Thelton, Shadenfeild, Eyke, Iken, Helmell, Blaxhall, Framlingham, Aſhe, Bromſwall, Tonſtall, Copten, et Kettleborough, in pred'c'o com' Suff'; ac omnes et ſingul' advocac'o'es, donac'o'es, lib'as diſpoſic'o'es, et jur' p'ronat' quecunque, omnium et ſingul' eccl'iar', vicariar', capellar', et alior' beneficior' eccleſiaſticor' quor'cunque, predictis honor', caſtr', d'niis, maner', terr', ten'tis, et ceter' premiſſis, ſuperius per preſentes preconceſſ', aut eor' alicui, aut alicui inde parti vel parcell' ſpectan', pertinen', inciden', appenden', ſive incumben'; que omnia et ſingul' honor', caſtr', d'nia, maner', hundred', rector', chaſei, parci, meſſuag', terr', ten', advocac'o'es, reddit', penc'o'es, porc'o'es, ac cetera omnia et ſingula premiſſa ſup'ius per preſentes prefatis Thome D'no Howard Baroni de Walden et Henr' Howard, heredibus & aſſignat' ſuis, ſicut prefertur, preconceſſ', nup' fuerunt parcell' poſſeſſionum pred'c'i Thome nup' ducis Norf', de altâ prodic'o'e attinct', ac ad manus D'ne Elizabethe nup' Regine Anglie devenerunt ſeu devenire debuerunt, r'one attinctur' ejuſdem Thome nup' Ducis Norf'. Dedimus eciam et conceſſimus, ac pro conſiderac'on' predict' de ub'iori gr'â n'râ ſpe'ali, ac ex certâ ſcienciâ et mero motu n'ris, pro nob', hered' et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, per preſentes damus et concedimus prefat' Thome D'no Howard et Henr' Howard, hered' et aſſignat' ſuis, omnia et ſingula meſſuag', molendin', domos, edific', ſtructur', horr', ſtabul', columbar', hort', pomar', gardin', terras, ten't', prat', paſc', paſtur', co'ias, terras d'nicales, vaſt', jampn', bruer', moras, mariſcos, boſcos, ſubboſcos, decimas garbar', blador', granor', et ſeni, lane, lini, canab', et agnellor', ac omnes alias decimas quaſcunque, tam majores quam minores, necnon oblac'o'es, obvenc'o'es, fruct', profic', aquas, piſcar', piſcac'o'es, ſect', ſoc', mulctur', warrenn', miner', quarr', reddit', reverc'o'es, et ſervic', reddit'nes, reddit' ſic'e, ac reddit' et ſervic' tam lib'or' quam cuſtumar' tenencium, op'atenen', firm', feod' firm', annuitat', feod' milit', ward', maritag', eſcaet', rel'ia, heriett', fines, amerciament', cur' let', viſ' franc' pleg', cur' et let', p'quiſic'o'es et profic', ac om'ia ad cur' let' et viſ' franc' pleg' pertinen', catalla, waviat', extrahur', nativos, nativas, et villan', cum eor' ſequel', eſtover' et co'ias eſtover', nundin', mercat', tolnet', theolon', cuſtum', jura, juriſdicc'o'es, franchef', privileg', profic', comoditat', advantag', emolumen', et hereditamen' n'ra quecunque, cum eor' pertinen' univerſis, cujuſcunque ſint generis, nature, ſeu ſpeciei, ſeu quibuſcunque no'ibus ſciantur, cenſeantur, nuncupentur, ſeu cognoſcantur, ſcituat', jacen', et exiſten', pervenien',

pervenien', creſcen', ſive emergen', infra com', vill', campos, p'och', loc', ſive hamlett' predict', ſeu in vel infra eor' aliquem vel aliquos, predict' honor', caſtr', d'niis, maner', hundred', rector', parc', chaſ', advocac'o'ibus, terr', ten', prat', paſc', paſtur', ac cetera premiſſa ſup'ius preſentes dat' et conceſſ', ſeu eor' alicui vel aliquibus, quoquomodo ſpectan', pertinen', inciden', vel appenden', aut ut membr', partes, vel parcell' eor'dem honor', caſtr', d'nior', maner', hundred', rector', parc', chaſ', advocac'onum, meſſuag', terrar', ten'tor', et ceteror' premiſſor', ſuperius per preſentes preconceſſ', ſeu eor' aliquor' vel alicujus, unquam antehac h'it', cognit', accept', occupat', uſitat', ſeu reputat', exiſten'; necnon reverc'o'em et reverc'o'es quaſcunque omnium et ſingulor' eor'dem honor', caſtr', d'nior', maner', hundred', rector', parc', chaſ', advocac'onum, meſſuag', terrar', ten', et hereditament' quor'cunque, ac ceteror' premiſſor' ſuperius per preſentes dat' et conceſſ', et cujusl't inde parcell', dependen', ſive expectan', de, in, vel ſup' aliquam dimiſſionem ſive conceſſionem, dimiſſiones ſive conceſſiones, pro termino vite, vitar', vel annor', vel aliter, de premiſſis, ſeu de aliquâ inde parcell' antehac fact', exiſten', de recordo, vel non de recordo. Damus ulterius, et pro conſiderac'o'e predict', ac de ub'iori gr'â n'râ ſpeciali, ac ex certâ ſcienciâ et mero motu n'ris, pro nob', hered' et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefat' Thome D'no Howard et Henr' Howard, heredibus et aſſignat' ſuis, omnes et omnimod' boſcos, ſubboſcos, et arbores n'ras quaſcunque, de, in, et ſup' omnibus et ſingulis premiſſis per preſentes dat' et conceſſ', aut aliquâ inde parcellâ, creſcen' ſive exiſten'; ac tot' terr', fund', et ſolum eor'dem boſcor', ſubboſcor', et arbor', ac reverc'o'em et reverc'o'es quaſcunque omnium et ſingulor' premiſſor' per preſentes ſuperius preconceſſ', et cujuſl' inde parcelle; necnon omnia et ſingula reddit' et annual' profic' quecunque reſervat' ſup' quibuſcunque dimiſſionibus vel conceſſionibus de premiſſis per preſentes preconceſſ', ſeu de aliquâ inde parcellâ, fact' ac reddit', et annual' profic' omnium et ſingulor' eor'dem premiſſor' ſup'ius per preſentes conceſſ', et cujuſl't inde parcellâ. Et ulterius, de ampliori gr'â n'râ ſp'ali, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, pro nob', heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, pro conſiderac'on' predict', dedimus et conceſſimus, ac per preſentes damus et concedimus, prefat' Thome D'no Howard et Henr' Howard, heredibus et aſſignatis ſuis, quod ip'i prefat' Thomas D'nus Howard et Henr' Howard, hered' et aſſign' ſui, de cetero imperp'm h'eant, teneant, et gaudeant, ac h'ere, tenere, et gaudere valeant et poſſint, infra permiſſ' per preſentes preconceſſ', ac infra quaml't inde parcellam, tot, tant', tal', eadem h'mo'i et conſimil' cur' let', vif' franc pleg', lawdayes, aſſiſam et aſſaiam panis, vini, et cerviſ', catalla, waviat', extrahur', catall' felonum et fugitivor', felonum de ſe, et in exigend' poſit', deodand', feod' milit', ward, maritag', rel'ia, eſcaet', heriett', lib'as warrenn', ac omnia alia jura, juriſdic'o'es, franchef',

lib'tat', conſuetud', privileg', profic', commoditat', advantag', emolument', et hereditament' quecunque, quot, quant', qual', et que, ac adeo plenè, lib'è, et integrè, ac in tam amplis modo et formâ, prout predict' Thomas nup' Dux Norf', aut Johannes Mowbray quondam Dux Norf', aut aliquis alius, ſive aliqui alii, predict' honor', caſtr', d'nia, maner', hundred', rector', parc', chaſ', advocac', meſſuag', terr', ten', et ceter' premiſſ' per preſentes preconceſſ', aut aliquam inde parcellam, unquam antehac h'entes, poſſidentes, aut ſeiſit' inde exiſtentes, unquam habuerunt, tenuerunt, vel gaviſi fuerunt, h'uit, tenuit, vel gaviſus fuit, ſeu h'ere, tenere, uti vel gaudere debuerunt aut debuit, in premiſſis ſup'ius per preſentes preconceſſ', aut in aliquâ inde parcellâ, r'one vel pretextu alicujus charte, doni, conceſſionis, vel confirmacionis, per nos, ſeu per aliquem progenitor' ſeu anteceſſor' n'ror' Regum Anglie antehac h'it', fact', vel conceſſ' ſeu confirmat', aut r'one vel pretextu alicujus actûs parliamenti, aut aliquor' actuum parliamentor', aut r'one vel pretextu alicujus legitime preſcripc'o'is, usûs, ſeu conſuetudinis antehac h'it' ſeu uſitat', aut aliter quocunque legali modo, jure, ſeu titulo, ac adeo plenè et integrè, ac in tam amplis modo et formâ, prout nos aut aliquis progenitor' ſive predeceſſor' n'ror' predict' honor', caſtr', d'nia, maner', hundred', rector', parc', chaſ', advocac', meſuag', terr', ten', ac cetera omnia et ſingula premiſſa ſup'ius conceſſ', et quaml't ſeu aliquam inde parcellam, h'uimus et gaviſi fuimus, aut h'uerunt vel gaviſi fuerunt, vel h'ere, uti, et gaudere debuimus, aut h'ere, uti, et gauder' debuerunt. Damus ulterius, et per preſentes, pro nob', heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefatis Thome D'no Howard et Henr' Howard, hered' et aſſignatis ſuis, predict' honor', caſtr', d'nia, maner', hundred', rector', parc', chaſ', advocac'o'es, meſuag', terr', ten', ac cetera omnia et ſingula premiſſa ſup'ius per preſentes preconceſſ', cum eor' pertinen' univerſis, adeo plenè, lib'è, et integrè, ac in tam amplis modo et formâ put ea omnia et ſingula premiſſa, aut aliqua inde parcella, ad manus n'ras, ſeu ad manus D'ne Elizabethe nup' Regine Angl', r'one vel pretextu alicujus attinctur' ſive forisfactur', aut r'one vel pretextu alicujus actûs parliamenti, vel aliquor' actuum parliamentor', aut r'one eſcaet', ſeu quocunque alio legali modo jure ſeu titulo devenerunt, ſeu devenire debuerunt, ac in manibus n'ris jam exiſtunt, ſeu exiſtere debent vel deberent; habend', tenend', et gaudend', unam medietat' et dimid' omnium et ſingul' predict' honor', caſtr', d'nior', manerior', hundred', rectoriar', parc', chaſ', advocac', meſſuag', terrar', ten'tor', prat', paſc', paſtur', boſcor', ſubboſcor', hereditamen', ac ceteror' omnium et ſingulor' premiſſor' ſup'ius per preſentes expreſſ' et ſpecificat', ac per preſentes preconceſſ', cum eor' juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis, prefat' Thome D'no Howard, heredibus et aſſign' ſuis, ad ſolum et proprium opus et uſum ipſius Thome D'ni Howard, heredibus et aſſign' ſuor', imp'p'm tenend' de nob', hered' et ſucceſſoribus n'ris,

n'ris, et de alio d'no ſive aliis d'nis, per tal', eadem, et h'mo'i reddit', feod' firm', ſervic', et tenur', per qual' et ꝑout eadem ante attinctur' predicti Thome nup' Ducis Norf' tenebantur, non per alia; ac habend', tenend', et gaudend', predict' alter' medietat', et dimid' omnium et ſingul' predict' honor', caſtr', d'nior', maner', hundred', rector', parc', chaſ', advocac', meſuag', terr', ten', prat', paſc', paſtur', boſcor', ſubboſcor', hereditamentor', ac ceteror' omnium et ſingul' permiſſor', ſup'ius per preſentes expreſſ' et ſpecificat', ac per preſentes preconceſſ', cum eor' juribus, membris, et pertinen' univerſis, prefat' Henr' Howard', hered' et aſſign' ſuis, ad ſolum et ꝑprium opus et uſum ipſius Henr' Howard, hered' et aſſign' ſuor' imp'p'm, tenend' de nob', heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, et de alio d'no ſive aliis d'nis, per talia, eadem, et h'mo'i reddit', feod' firm', ſervic', et tenur', per qual' et ꝑout eadem ante attinctur' predict' Thome nuper Ducis Norf' tenebantur, et non per alia. Et ulterius de ampliori gr'â n'râ ſpeciali, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, volumus, et per preſentes, pro confiderac' predict', pro nob', hered' et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefat' Thome D'no Howard et Henr' Howard, hered' et aſſign' ſuis, quod he l're n're patentes, vel irrotulament' ear'dem, erunt in omnibus et per omnia firme, valide, bone, ſufficien', et effectual' in lege, erga et contra nos, hered' et ſucceſſores n'ros, tam in omnibus cur' n'ris, quam alibi infra regnum n'r'm Anglie, abſque aliquibus confirmac', licenciis, vel tolerac'o'ibus, de nobis, hered' vel ſucceſſ' n'ris, in poſterum per predictos Thomam D'num Howard et Henr' Howard, aut heredes ſive aſſign' ſuos, procurand' aut obtinend', non obſtante malè nominand', vel malè recitand', aut non recitand', predict' honor', caſtr', d'nia, maner', hundred', rector', parc', chaſ', advocac', meſuag', terr, ten', ac cetera permiſſa, vel aliquam inde parcellam, et non obſtan' non inveniend' offic' aut inquiſic' premiſſor', aut alicujus inde parcelle, per que titul' n'r inveniri debuit ante confec'em har' l't'rar' n'rar' paten'; et non obſtan' malè recitand', malè nominand', vel non recitand', aliquam dimiſſionem ſive conceſſionem de premiſſ', vel de aliquâ inde parcellâ, fact', exiſten', de recordo vel non de recordo, et non obſtan' malè nominand' vel non nominand' aliquam villam, hamlett', p'och', loc', vel com', in quibus premiſſ', aut aliqua inde parcell', exiſtunt vel exiſtit; et non obſtan' q'd de nominibus tenencium firmar' ſive occupator' premiſſor', vel alicujus inde parcell', plena, vera, et certa non fit mencio; et non obſtan' aliquibus def'ci'bus de certitudine vel computac'o'e, aut declarac'o'e, vel omiſſione, veri annui valoris premiſſor', aut alicujus inde parcelle, aut annual' reddit' reſervat' de et ſup' premiſſ', vel de et ſup' aliquam inde parcellam, in hiis l'ris n'ris patentibus expreſſ' et content'; et non obſtan' aliquibus aliis defect' in non nominand' aut in malè nominand' aliquem tenen', firmar', ſive occupator' permiſſor', aut alicujus inde parcelle; et non obſtan' ſtatuto in parliamento D'ni Henr' nuper.

nuper Regis Anglie Quarti anteceſſoris n'ri, anno regni ſui primo fact' et edit'; et non obſtan' ſtatuto in parliamento D'ni Henr' nup' Regis Anglie Sexti anteceſſoris n'ri anno regni ſui decimo octavo fact' et edit'; et non obſtan' aliquibus aliis defectibus in non rectè nominand' natur', gener', ſpecies, quantitat' aut qualitat' premiſſor', aut alicujus inde parcelle. Volumus etiam &c. abſque fine in Hanap'io, &c. eo quod expreſſa mencio, &c. In cujus rei, &c. T. R. apud Weſtm', xxvii die Junii.

Per breve de Privato Sigillo, &c.

No. III. Copy of the First Charter of Bury.

3d April, 4th James, 1606.

JACOBUS, Dei gratiâ, Anglie, Scotie, Francie, et Hibernie rex, fidei defenſor, &c. Omnibus ad quos preſentes l're n're pervenerint ſalutem. Cum villa n'ra de Burie Sancti Edmundi, in com' n'ro Suff', ſit burgus ſive villa antiqua et populoſa; cumque etiam inh'itantes ejuſdem burgi ſive villæ, temporibus retroactis, diverſas libertates, privilegia, conſuetudines, franchef', immunitates, et preeminentias h'uerunt, et uſi et gaviſi fuerunt, tam r'one diverſarum chartarum et l'rar' patentium, quam r'one diverſarum preſcriptionum et conſuetudinum in eod' burgo ſive villâ ab antiquo uſitat'; cumque dil'ci ſubditi n'ri burgenſes et inhabitantes burgi ſive ville predict', nobis humillimè ſupplicaverunt quatenus nos, pro meliori gubernac'one, regimine, et meliorac'one ejuſdem ville, gratiam et munificentiam n'ram regiam eis in hâc parte gratioſè et lib'aliter exhibere et extendere velimus; quodque nos, pro regimine et meliori gub'nac'one et meliorac'one predict' ville de S'ci Ed'i pred', eosd' inh'itantes burgi ſive ville predict' in unum corpus corporatum et politicum, per nomen "Aldermani et burgenſium de Burie S'ci E'di, in com' Suff'," per l'ras n'ras patentes facere, ordinare, conſtituere, ratificare, confirmare, redigere, ſeu creare dignaremur, pro bono publico ejuſdem burgi ſive ville, put nobis melius videbitur expedire: Nos igitur, meliorac'onem ejuſdem burgi ſive ville, gratioſè affectantes ac volentes, quod de cetero imp'p'm in eodem burgo ſive villâ habeatur unus certus indubitatus modus de et pro cuſtodiâ pacis n're, ac bono regimine et gub'nac'one ejuſdem burgi ſive

ville,

ville, et populi n'ri ib'm h'itant', et aliorum ib'm confluentium; et quod burgus ſive villa pred' de cetero imp'p'm ſit et permaneat burgus ſive villa pacis et quietis, ad formidinem et terrorem malorum delinquentium, et pro defenſione et ſuſtentac'one bonorum: Nos etiam, volentes q'd pax n'ra ceteraque facta juſtitiæ et boni regiminis, abſque ulteriori dilac'one, diffuſione ib'm melius fieri et cuſtodiri valeant et poſſint, ſperanteſque q'd ſi burgenſ' et inh'antes ejuſdem burgi ſive ville, et ſucceſſores ſui, amplioribus ex conceſſione n'râ gaudere poterint libertatis immunitat' et privilegia, tunc ad ſervitia que poterint nobis, ac heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, impendend' et exhibend' ſpecialius fortiuſque ſentiant ſe obligari; ad humilem petitionem et rogationem burgenſium et inh'itan' ejuſdem burgi ſive ville, de gratiâ n'râ ſpeciali, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, voluimus, ordinavimus, conſtituimus, et conceſſimus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, volumus, ordinamus, conſtituimus, declaramus, et concedimus, quod dictus burgus ſive villa Bury S'ci Ed'i, in com' n'ro Suff', ſit, erit, et permaneat de cetero imp'p'm, liber burgus de ſe. Et, ad omnes queſtiones, difficultates, et ambiguitates penitus tollend', q'd burgenſes et inh'antes burgi illius, ſive antehac l'timè incorporati fuerunt ſive non, de cetero imp'p'm, ſine ullâ queſtione ſive ambiguitate impoſterum fiend', ſint et erunt unum corpus corporatum et politicum, in re, facto, et nomine, per nomen "Ald'r'i et burgenſ' de Bury S'ci Ed'i, in com' Suffol'," ac eos per nomen "Ald'r'i et burgenſ' de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suff'," unum corpus corporatum et politicum, in re, facto, et nomine, realiter, et ad plenum, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, erigimus, facimus, ordinamus, conſtituimus, creamus, confirmamus, ratificamus, et declaramus, per preſentes; et quod per idem nomen ha'eant ſucceſſionem perpetuam; et quod ipſi per nomen "Alder'i et burgenſ' de Bury S'ci Ed'i, in com' Suffolk," ſint et erint, perpetuuis futuris temporibus, perſone habiles, et in lege capaces, ac corpus corporatum et politicum, et in lege capax, ad habend', perquirend', recipiend', poſſidend', gaudend', et retinend', terras, ten'ta, libertates, privilegia, juriſdic'o'es, franchef', et hereditamenta, cujuſcunque generis, no'is, nature, qualitat', vel ſpeciei fuerint, ſibi et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, in feodo et perpetuitate, ſive pro termino anni vel annorum, aut aliter quocunque modo; ac etiam bona et catalla, et quaſcunque alias res, cujuſcunque generis, nominis, nature, qualitatis, vel ſpeciei fuerint; necnon ad dand', concedend', dimittend', alienand', aſſignand', et diſponend', terr', ten't', et heredit'enta, et ad omnia et ſingula al' facta et res faciend' et exequend', per nomen predict'; et quod per idem nomen "Ald'r'i et burgenſ' de Bury S'ci Ed'i, in com' Suffolk," pl'itare et impl'itari, reſpondere et reſponderi, defendere et defendi, valeant et poſſint, in quibuſcunque curiis, placeis, et locis, ac cor' quibuſcunque judicibus et juſtic', ac aliis perſonis et officiariis n'ris, ac heredum et ſucceſſorum noſtrorum,

noſtrorum, in omnibus et ſingulis acc'o'ibus, pl'itis, ſectis, querelis, cauſis, materiis, et demand' quibuſcunque, cujuſcunque ſunt aut erunt generis, nominis, nature, qualitatis, ſive ſpeciei, eiſdem modo et formâ prout aliqui alii ligei n'ri hujus regni n'ri Anglie, perſone habiles et in lege capaces, ſive aliquod aliud corpus corporatum et politicum infra regnum n'rum Angliæ, h'ere, perquirere, recipere, poſſidere, gaudere, retinere, dare, concedere, dimittere, alienare, aſſignare, et diſponere, pl'itare et impl'itari, reſpondere et reſponderi, defendere et defendi, facere, permittere, ſive exequi poſſint aut valeant; et quod ald'r'us et burgenſes de Bury S'ci Ed'i predict', in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſores ſui, h'eant imp'p'm co'e ſigillum pro cauſis et negotiis ſuis, et ſucceſſorum ſuor', quibuſcunque agend' deſervitur'; et quod bene liceat et licebit eiſd' ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Bury S'ci Ed'i predict', in dicto com' Suff', et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, ſigillum illud ad libitum ſuum de tempore in tempus, frangere, mutare, et aliud ſive alia de novo facere, prout iis melius fieri videbitur. Et ulterius volumus, et per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus et ordinamus, q'd de cetero imp'p'm ſit et erit infra burgum de Bury Sc'i Ed'i predict' unus de burgenſ' burgi predict' in formâ inferius in hiis preſentibus menc'onat' elegend' et nominand', qui erit et nominabitur "Ald'r'us" ejuſdem burgi; quodque ſint et erint infra burgum predict' quatuor hom'es de inh'itan' burgi predict' in formâ inferius in his preſentibus menc'onat' eligend', qui erunt et nominabuntur "Aſſiſtentes" burgi predict'; quodque ſi'liter ſint et erint duodecim homines de inh'itan' burgi predict' in formâ inferius in his preſentibus menc'onat' eligend', qui erunt et nominabuntur inter ſe "Capital' Burgenſes" burgi predict'; quodque ſi'liter ſint et erint infra burgum predict' viginti quatuor alii de inh'itan' burgi predict', qui erunt et nominabuntur "Burgenſes de c'oi conſilio" burgi predict', in formâ inferius in his preſentibus menc'onat' eligend'; qui quidem ald'r'us, quatuor aſſiſtentes, duodecim capitales burgenſes, et viginti quatuor burgenſes de co'i conſilio, erunt de co'i conſilio burgi predict' pro omnibus cauſis et materiis dictum burgum tangen' ſive concernen'. Et ulterius volumus, et per preſentes, pro nobis, hered' et ſucceſſor' n'ris, concedimus, prefato ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Burie Sc'i Ed'i predict', in dicto com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod ald'r'us burgi predict' pro tempore exiſten', et aſſiſtentes ejuſdem burgi pro tempore exiſten', vel major pars eor', et capitales burgenſes ejuſdem burgi pro tempore exiſten', vel major pars eorum, et viginti quatuor burgenſes de co'i conſilio burgi predict' pro tempore exiſten', vel major pars eorum, quorum ald'r'us burgi predict' pro tempore exiſten' unum eſſe volumus, ſuper ſum'onic'onem publicam inde fiend' ad hoc congregat', habeant et habebunt plenam poteſtatem et authoritatem condendi, conſtituendi, ordinandi, et faciendi, de tempore in tempus, leges, ſtatuta, conſtituc'o'es, decreta, et ordinac'o'es r'onabil', in

ſcriptis

ſcriptis quacunque, quæ iis aut majori parti eorum, ut predictum eſt, bona, ſalubria, utilia, honeſta, et neceſſaria, juxta eorum ſanas diſcretiones, aut iuxta ſanas diſcretiones majoris partis eorum, ſicut predictum eſt, fore videbuntur, pro bonis regimine et gubernac'o'e burgi predicti, ac omnium et ſingulor' officiar', miniſtr', artificum, inhabitantium, et reſiden' quorumcunque infra burgum predict', libertat' et precinct' ejuſdem, ac pro declaratione quo modo et ordine iidem ald'r'us et burgenſes, ac omnes et ſinguli officiar', miniſtri, burgenſes, artifices, inh'itantes et reſidentes burgi predict', in officiis, func'onibus, miniſtr', artificiis et negotiis ſuis, infra burgum predict' et libertat' et precinct' ejuſdem, pro tempore exiſten', ſeſe habebunt, gerent, ac utentur, pro ulteriori bono publico, communi utilitate, et bono regimine burgi predict', ac victulac'one ejuſdem, ac rebus et cauſis aliis quibuſcunque burgum predict' tangen', ſive quoquomodo concernen'; et ea vel eorum aliqua ſic fact' de tempore in tempus ad eor', vel majoris partis eor', ſicut predictum eſt, libiter mutare, et alia facere et condere. Quod iidem ald'r'us, aſſiſtentes, capital' burgenſes, et viginti quatuor burgenſes de co'i conſilio, vel major pars eor', quorum ald'r'um pro tempore exiſten' unum eſſe volumus, ut predictum eſt, quotieſcunque hu'mo'i leges, inſti'tiones, jura, ordinac'ones, et conſtitut' fecerint, condiderint, ordinaverint, vel ſtabilaverint, in formâ predict', h'mo'i et tales penas, punic'ones, et penalitat', per impriſonment' corporis, vel per fines et amerciamenta, vel per eor' utrumque, erga et ſuper omnes delinquentes, contra hu'mo'i leges, jura, ordinac'o'es, et conſtituc'ones, ſive eorum aliquod, ſive aliqua qualia, et quæ eiſdem ald'r'o, aſſiſten', capital' burgenſ', et viginti quatuor burgenſ' de communi conſilio pro tempore exiſten', vel predict' majori parti eorundem, neceſſ'a, opportun', et requiſit' pro obſervatione earundem legum, ordinac'on', et conſtitution', melius fore videbitur, facere, ordinare, limitare, et providere, ac eadem fines et amerciamenta levare, et habere et gaudere poſſint et valeant, ad uſum prefat' ald'r'i et burgenſium de Burie Sc'i Ed'i predict', et ſucceſſor' ſuor', abſque impedimento n'ro, heredum vel ſucceſſor' n'ror', aut alicujus ſive aliquor' officiar' vel miniſtrorum noſtror', heredum vel ſucceſſor' noſtror', et abſque aliquo comp'o nobis, hered' ſeu ſucceſſor' n'ris, inde reddend', quæ omnia et ſingula ordinac'o'es, jura, et conſtituc'o'es, ſicut prefertur, f'iend', obſervari volumus, ſub penis in eiſdem conſtituend'. Ita tamen quod leges, ordinac'ones, conſtituc'o'es, impriſonament', fines et amerciamenta h'mo'i, ſint ra'nabil', et non ſint repugnan' nec contraria legibus, ſtatutis, conſuetudinibus, ſive juribus regni n'ri Anglie. Et, pro meliori executione voluntat' et conceſſion' n're in hâc parte, aſſignavimus, nominavimus, creavimus, conſtituimus, et fecimus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, aſſignamus, nominamus, conſtituimus, et facimus dilectum nobis Ricardum Walker, gener', fore et eſſe primum

et modernum aldermanum burgi predict', volentes quod idem Ric'dus Walker in officio ald'r'i burgi predict' erit et continuabit à dat' preſentium uſque in diem Jovis prox' ante feſtum Sancti Barth'i Apoſtoli tunc prox' ſequen', ſi idem Ric'us Walker tamdiu vix'it; et ab eodem die Jovis prox' ante predict' feſtum Sancti Barth'i Apoſtoli jam prox' ſequent' quouſque un' al' de capital' burgenſibus in officium aldermani burgi predict', virtute harum l'rarum noſtrarum patentium, prefect' et jurat' fuerit, niſi ipſe ab officio predicto pro malâ gubernatione, vel pro ſe male geren', vel pro aliquâ al' causâ r'onabil', juxta formam in his preſentibus inferius ſpecificat', amotus fuerit. Aſſignavimus etiam, nominavimus, creavimus, et conſtituimus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, aſſignamus, nominamus, creamus, et conſtituimus, dilectos nobis Robertum Golding, arm', Will'um Hayward, arm', Johannem Noune, arm', et Henr' Goldſmith, arm', fore et eſſe quatuor primos et modernos aſſiſtentes ejuſd' burgi, continuand' in ej'dem officiis aſſiſtentium à dat' preſentium uſque in predict' diem Jovis prox' ante predictum feſtum Sancti Borth'i Apoſtoli tunc prox' ſequent', et ab eodem die duran' bene placito predict' ald'r'i et burgenſium burgi predict', vel quouſque al' vel alii aſſiſten' burgi predicti loco vel locis d'cor' aſſiſtentium ſuperius nominat', ſeu eor' alicujus vel aliquorum, in formâ inferius declarat', electi et perfecti fuerint vel fuerit, niſi interim, pro malâ gubernac'one, aut mal' ſe geren' in eâ parte, aut pro aliquâ al' causâ r'onabil', ab officiis illis juxta formam infraſcript' amoti erunt, aut eor' aliqui vel aliquis amoti erunt vel amotus erit. Aſſignavimus etiam, nominavimus, creavimus, et conſtituimus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, hered' et ſucceſſor' n'ris, aſſignamus, nominamus, creamus, conſtituimus, et facimus, dilectos nobis Joh'em Gipps, Thomam Bright, Georgium Baldero, generoſos, Franc'um Pinnor, Joh'em Boldero, gen', Joh'em Hill, gen', Joh'em Revell, Thomam Baker, Joh'em Man, Stephanum Aſhwell, Benedict' Barker, et Henr' Gipps, inh'itantes burgi predicti, fore et eſſe primos et modernos duodecim capitales burgenſes ejuſdem burgi, continuand' in eiſdem officiis durant' vitis ſuis n'ral', niſi interim pro malâ gubernac'one, aut pro malâ ſe geren' in eâ parte, aut pro aliquâ aliâ causâ r'onab'l', ab off' ill' juxta formam infraſcript' amoti erunt, aut aliqui eorum vel aliquis amoti erunt vel amotus erit. Aſſignavimus etiam, nominavimus, creavimus, et conſtituimus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, aſſignamus, nominamus, creamus, conſtituimus, et facimus, dilectos nobis Rob'tum Sparke, Will'um Griggs, Will'm Fayrecliffe, Jo'han' Shawberry, Franc'um Aſty, Joh'em Gooderich, Chriſtopher' Coxe, Henr' Bright, Antonium Smith, Simonem Humfrey, Roger' Lowedale, Will'um Scott, Joh'an' Rye, Rob'tum Beane, Jacobum Baxter, Ed'um Kinard, Rob'tum Davy, Laurent' Jeffery, Thomam Lumpkin, Ed'r'um White, Georg' Baker,

Baker, Georg' Warde, Ambroſium Briden, ſen', et Joh'em Briden, inh'itan' ejuſdem burgi, fore et eſſe primos et modernos viginti quatuor burgenſes de co'i conſilio burgi predicti, continuand' in eiſdem officiis duran' vitis ſuis n'ral', niſi interim, pro malâ gub'nac'one, aut male ſe geren' in eâ parte, aut pro aliquâ causâ rationabili, ab officio illo amoti fuerint, aut eor' aliqui vel aliquis amoti erunt, aut amotus erit, juxta formam infraſcript'. Volumus etiam, et per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefat' ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſor' ſuis imp'p'm, quod omnes et ſinguli ald'r'i, recordatores, aſſiſtentes, et burgenſes, tam capital' quam burgenſ' de co'i conſilio burgi predicti, et omnes et ſinguli alii officiarii et miniſtri infra burgum predictum nominat' et conſtitut', et impoſterum eligend' et conſtituend', et quil't ſeu aliquis eorum, ad congregation' pro burgo predicto tenend' per ald'r'um vel recordator' burgi predict', et per majorem partem dict' capital' burgenſ' d'c'i burgi ib'm intereſſe volentes, et per majorem partem predict' viginti quatuor burgenſ' de co'i conſilio ejuſdem burgi, ad dict' congregation' ſi'lit' intereſſe volentes de tempore in tempus pro tempore exiſten', ad congregation' pro burgo predict' tenend', pro malâ gubernand', vel pro ſe male geren', vel pro aliquâ aliâ causâ r'onabili per eos vel majorem partem eor', ut predicitur, adjudicand', ab officiis et locis ſuis predict' amobil' ſint, et eos amobiles et amotos eſſe volumus de tempore in tempus imp'p'm, quoties eis aut majori parti eor' ut predict' videbitur expediri. Et ulterius volumus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus preſat' ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Burie Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſor' ſuis, quod ald'r'us burgi predict' pro tempore exiſten', et major pars capitalium burgenſium, et major pars viginti quatuor burgenſ' de co'i conſilio burgi predict', pro tempore exiſten', de tempore in tempus, perpetuis futuris temporibus, poteſtatem habeant et habebunt annuatim, die Jovis prox' ante feſtum Sancti Barth'i Apoſtoli quol't anno, in Guihaldâ burgi predict', vel in aliquo alio loco convenienti infra burgum predict', ad libitum eorundem ald'r'i et burgenſium pro tempore exiſten', vel majoris partis eor', nominand' et eligend'; et quod eligere et nominare poſſint et valeant unum de capital' burgenſ' burgi predict' pro tempore exiſten', qui erit ald'r'us burgi predict', pro uno anno integro ſequen'; quodque ille, poſtquam ſic ut prefatur elect' et nominat' fuerit in ald'r'um burgi predict', antequam ad offic' illud exequend' admittatur, infra tempus congruum poſt dict' elecc'on', et in convenienti loco infra dictum burgum, per predict' ald'r'um, capital' burgenſes, et burgenſes de co'i conſilio burgi predict', vel majorem partem eor' de tempore in tempus appunctuand', ſacr'um corporale cor' ult' ald'r'o predeceſſore ſuo, et recordatore ejuſdem burgi pro tempore exiſten', ſeu eor' altero, et duobus vel pluribus aſſiſten' vel capital' burgenſ'

burgi predict' pro tempore 'exiſten', in preſentiâ tot' al' burgenſ' co'is conſilii burgi predict', et alior' inh'itantium d'c'i burgi pro tempore exiſten', qui adtunc interfuerint, ad offic'um ald'r'i burgi predict', benè, rectè, et fideliter exequend' in omnibus officiis ill' tangen' preſtabit. Et quod iidem predeceſſores ald'r'us et recordator, ſeu eor' alter, aut aliqui duo vel plur' predict' aſſiſten' vel capital' burgenſ' burgi predict', pro tempore exiſten', plenam habeant poteſtat' et authoritat', per has l'ras n'ras paten', ad h'm'di ſacr'um in formâ predict' recipiend'. Et quod nullus h'm'i ald'r'us burgi predict' ad ſacr'um ſuum predict' preſtand' alibi extra burgum predict' tranſire aliqualiter compellatur. Et quod poſt h'mo'i ſacr'um ſit preſtit' officium ald'r'i burgi predict' pro uno anno integro extunc prox' ſequen', vel quouſque alius ald'r'us burgi predict' virtute preſentium in officium illud elect' et prefect' fuerit, niſi ab officio pred'c'o interim in formâ pred'c'â amot' fuerit, exequi valeat et poſſit. Et ſic toties quoties caſus ita contigerit. Et inſuper volumus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefat' ald'r'o et burgen' de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod ſi contigerit aliquem ald'r'um burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', aliquo tempore infra un' ann' poſtquam ad officium ald'r'ni burgi pred'c'i ut prefertur elect', prefect', vel jurat', vel antequam aliquis alius burgenſis predict' ad offic' illud exercend' electus fuerit, decedere, obire, aut ab officio illo amoveri, quod tunc et toties bene liceat et licebit capital' burgenſ' burgi predict' pro tempore exiſten', aut majori parti eorundem, et burgen' de co'i conſilio burgi predict', aut majori parti eorundem pro tempore exiſten', in tempore convenienti poſt mortem ſive amoc'on' alicujus h'mo'i ald'r'i, unum alium de capital' burgen' burgi predict' pro tempore exiſten' in ald'r'um ejuſdem burgi eligere et preficere, ſec'd'm ordinac'o'es et proviſiones in his preſentibus ſuperius declarat', quoties caſus ita contigerit. Et quod ille ſic elect' et h'mo'i ſacr'um ut prefertur coram recordatore burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel, in abſentiâ recordatoris burgi pred'c'i, coram aliquo burgen' burgi predict' qui ald'r'us burgi predict' antetunc fuiſſet, et duobus vel pluribus aſſiſten' vel capital' burgen' burgi predict' pro tempore exiſten', in formâ predict' preſtan', quod quidem ſacr'um cor' recordatore burgi predict' pro tempore exiſten', et in abſentiâ recordatoris burgi predict' coram aliquo burgen' burgi predict' qui ald'r'us burgi illius prius fuerit, et duobus vel pluribus aſſiſten', vel capital' burgenſ' burgi predict' in formâ ſupradict' preſtari et recipi volumus, et poteſtatem damus per preſentes, quoties caſus ita contigirit, in officium ald'r'i burgi predict' prefect' erit, et officium illud h'eat et exerceat durant' toto vel reſiduo ejuſdem anni, niſi in formâ predict' amotus fuerit. Et ulterius volumus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefato ald'r'o et burgen' de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk,

Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod ald'r'us burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', et major pars capital' burgen', et major pars viginti quatuor burgen' de co'i conſilio burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', de tempore in tempus, perpetuis futuris temporibus, poteſtatem et authoritatem habeant et habebunt annuatim, die Jovis prox' antè feſtum Sc'i Barth'i Apoſtoli, quol't, anno in Guihaldâ burgi predict', vel in aliquo alio loco convenienti infra eundem burgum, nominand' et eligend', et quod eligere et nominare poſſint et valeant, quatuor de capital' burgenſ', vel al' inh'itan' burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', qui erunt aſſiſtentes burgi pred'c'i pro uno anno integro tunc prox' ſequen'; quodque illi de tempore in tempus, poſtquam ſic ut prefertur elect' et nominat' fuerint aſſiſten' burgi pred'c'i, antequam ad officium illud exequend' admittantur, aut eor' aliquis admittatur, ſacr'um corporale cor' ald'r'o et recordatore burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', ſeu eor' altero, et duobus vel pluribus capital' burgenſ' burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', in preſentiâ tot' aliorum burgenſ' et inh'itan' burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten' qui adtunc interfuerint, ad officium aſſiſten' burgi pred'c'i, benè, rectè, et fideliter exequend', in omnibus officium illud tangen' preſtabunt, et eorum quil't preſtabit; et quod poſt hu'mo'i ſacram' ſic preſtit', officium aſſiſtentium burgi pred'c'i pro uno anno integro tunc prox' ſequen' exequi valeant et poſſint, et eor' quil't reſpectivè exequi valeat et poſſit, niſi ab officio predict' interim in formâ pred'c'â amotus fuerit. Et quod ald'r'us et recordator burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel eor' alter', vel aliqui duo vel plures capitales burgen' burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', ſic ut prefertur, plenam habeant poteſtatem et authoritatem, virtute harum litterarum noſtrarum paten', ad hu'mo'i ſacr'um in formâ pred'c'â h'm'i aſſiſten' et eor' cuil't miniſtrand' et habend', quoties caſus ita contigerit. Et ulterius, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, per preſentes volumus et concedimus prefato ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod quandocunque contigerit aliquem vel aliquos de predict' aſſiſten' burgi predict' ſuperius nominat' et conſtitut', vel aliquem vel aliquos al' aſſiſten' burgi pred'c'i impoſterum de tempore in tempus eligend', et in officium vel officios aſſiſtentium burgi pred'c'i prefect' vel preficiend', obire, aut ab officiis ſuis aſſiſten' burgi pred'c'i, pro aliquâ causâ r'onabili amoveri in formâ pred'c'â, quod tunc et toties benè liceat et licebit ald'r'o et capital' burgen' burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', aut majori parti eor', ac prefat' viginti quatuor burgen' de communi conſilio burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel majori parti eorum, in Guihaldâ burgi pred'c'i, vel in aliquo alio loco convenienti infra eandem burgum, un' al' vel plur' al' inh'itan' burgi pred'c'i in locis ſive loco ipſius vel ipſorum ſic mori vel avomeri contingentis vel contingentium, eligere, nominare, et preficere, ad ſuppl'end' predict' numerum quatuor aſſiſten' burgi pred'c'i; quodque ille ſive illi,

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ſicut prefertur ad officium aſſiſten' burgi predict' elect' et preſect' electi et prefecti, et preſtan' coram ald'r'o et recordatore burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', ſeu eor' uno, ſacr'm corporale ad officium illud benè et fidelit' exequend', erit et erunt de numero predict' quatuor aſſiſten' burgi pred'c'i; et hoc de tempore in tempus quoties caſus ſic accidit. Et ulterius volumus, ac per preſentes concedimus, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, prefat' ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod quandocunque contigerit aliquem vel aliquos de predict' capital' burgenſ', aut de pred'c'is viginti quatuor burgen' de co'i conſilio burgi pred'c'i, pro tempore exiſten', decedere, obire, aut ab officiis aut locis ſuis capital' burgen', aut burgen' de co'i conſilio burgi pred'c'i, pro aliquâ cauſâ r'onabili in formâ predict' amoveri, quod tunc et toties benè liceat et licebit prefat' ald'r'o et reſid' capital' burgenſ' burgi pred'c'i, vel majori parti eor', et burgen' de co'i conſilio burgi predict' adtunc ſuperviven' vel remanen', vel majori parti eorundem, apud Guihaldam burgi predicti, vel in aliquo alio loco convenienti infra burgum predict' congregat', unum alium vel plures alios de inh'itan' ſive burgen' burgi predict', in locum ſive locos ipſius vel ipſor' capital' burgenſ', aut capitalis burgenſis, aut ipſius vel ipſor' burgenſis aut burgenſium de com'uni conſilio burgi predict', ſic deceden' vel mori vel amoveri contingen' vel contingentium, eligere, nominare, et preficere, ad ſupplend' predict' numerum duodecim capital' burgenſ', vel predict' numer' viginti et quatuor al' burgenſium de communi conſilio burgi pred'c'i; quodque ille ſive illi, ſic ut prefertur ad officium capitalis burgenſis, ſive ad officium burgenſis ſive burgenſium de co'i conſilio burgi pred'c'i electus et prefectus, electi et prefecti, preſtit' coram ald'r'o et recordatore burgi predicti pro tempore exiſten', aut eor' altero, ſacr'm corporale ad ſeparal' offic' ill' benè et fideliter exequend', erit et erunt de numero predict' duodecim capital' burgenſ', vel viginti quatuor burgenſium de co'i conſilio burgi predicti, ad quem ſic electi vel electus fuerint vel fuerit, duran' vitis ſuis, niſi rac'onabil' cauſa amoc'onis interven'it; et hoc de tempore in tempus, toties quoties caſus ſic accidit. Et quod ald'r'us et recordator burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel eor' alter', plenam poteſtatem et authoritatem, virtute harum literarum noſtrarum paten', habeant, et eorum alter habeat, ad h'mo'i ſacr'm in formâ predict' h'mo'i capital' burgenſ', et h'mo'i burgenſ' de co'i conſilio burgi pred'c'i, et eor' cuil't, miniſtrand' toties quoties caſus ita contigerit. Et ulterius, de abundantiori gratiâ noſtrâ, ac ex certâ ſcienciâ et mero motu n'ris, conceſſimus, et per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefatis ald'r'o et burgen' de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis imp'p'm, quod ſi aliquis vel aliqui de burgenſibus burgi pred'c'i infra predictum burgum pro tempore exiſten' habitan', qui ad officium vel locum, officia vel loca, ald'r'i burgi pred'c'i,

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vel unius duodecim capital' burgen' ejuſdem burgi, vel unius viginti quatuor burgenſium de co'i conſilio ejuſdem burgi elect' vel n'nat' fuerint vel fuerit, ac habens vel habentes monic'o'em vel notitiam de h'mo'i electione vel elecc'onibus, recuſaverit vel recuſaverint, vel renuerit ſuſtinere et exercere officium vel locum illud ad quod ipſe vel ipſi recuſantes vel renuantes, recuſans vel renuens, ſic electi fuerint, vel electus fuerit, quod tunc et toties benè liceat prefato ald'r'o, et reſid' capital' burgenſ' burgi pred'c'i, vel majori parti eor' pro tempore exiſten', fines et amerciamenta ſuper h'mo'i perſonam et perſonas ſic recuſantem et recuſantes taxare et aſſidere, ad communem uſum burgi pred'c'i, erga ſupportac'on' oner' ejuſdem burgi, prout iis rationabiliter videbitur, ita quod nulli h'mo'i fines vel amerciamenta ſic taxand' et aſſidend' excedat vel excedit ſummam viginti librarum monete n're, hered' vel ſucceſſor' noſtror' regni Anglie; et quod iidem ald'r'us et capitales burgenſes burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel major pars eor', per ſervientes ad clavos vel miniſtros ſuos proprios vel eor' aliquem, venire facere poſſint coram iis apud Guihaldam predict' burgi, vel ad aliquem alium locum convenient' infra eundem burgum, dict' perſonam et perſonas ſic recuſantem et recuſantes, quam citius infra burgum predict' inveniri poſſint vel poſſit, et ipſum vel ipſos gaole burgi predict' committere, et in priſonâ retinere abſque balliâ ſive manucapc'one, quouſque fines et amerciamenta illa prefat' ald'r'o pro tempore exiſten', ad co'em uſum burgenſ' burgi pred'c'i, ſolverint ſeu ſolverit, ſeu ſolvi fecerint vel fecerit. Volumus etiam, ac per has l'ras n'ras patentes concedimus, pro nobis, hered' et ſucceſſor' n'ris, prefat' ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Bury Sc i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod quando et quoties aliquos vel aliquem ad dict' offic' ald'r'i unius duodecim capital' burgenſium, vel unius burgenſium de co'i conſilio burgi pred'c'i nominat' et elect', ut predict' officium illud vel officia illa, ad quod vel que ſic nominat' vel elect' fuerint vel fuerit, recuſantes vel recuſantem invenerint, ipſi pred'c'i ald'r'us et reſidium predict' capital' burgenſ', vel major pars eor', et viginti quatuor burgenſ' de co'i conſilio burgi pred'c'i, vel major pars eor' pro tempore exiſten', unam aliam vel plures habilem et habiles, perſonam vel perſonas, de burgenſibus burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', juxta veram intenc'o'em preſentium, in h'mo'i officium vel officia locum vel locas h'mo'i recuſantis vel recuſantium eligere, et ſacramento et ſacramentis de h'mo'i officio et officiis ſuis benè et fideliter exercend' et exequend', juxta veram intenc'o'em harum l'rarum n'rarum paten', debit', preſtit', prefic'e poſſint et valeant; ita quod propter h'mo'i recuſantes vel recuſantem nullus de certo ſit defectus h'mo'i ald'r'i vel burgenſium ſupra menc'onat', ſeu eor' alicujus, et ſervitio n'ro, heredum vel ſucceſſor' n'ror' fiend', vel pro bono regimine burgi pred'c'i. Quare volumus, quod omnes et ſinguli perſona et perſonæ, in ald'r'um

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vel burgenſ' burgi pred'c'i, ratione alicujus recuſantis de tempore in tempus, elect' et eligend' et proficiend', ut predicitur, tal' et tant' authoritat' et privilegia in burgo pred'c'o habeat et habeant, qual' et quant' al' ald'r'us vel burgenſes ejuſdem burgi virtute harum l'rarum n'rarum patent' elect' et prefect, et eligend' et proficiend' habebunt vel habere, poſſint vel valeant. Et ulterius, volumus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefato ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Burie Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod ipſi et ſucceſſores ſui habeant et habebunt, in burgo pred'c'o, unum virum diſcretum, et in legibus Anglie peritum, in formâ inferius expreſsâ, eligend' et nominand', qui erit et nominabitur "Recordator Burgi" pred'c'i; et aſſignavimus, conſtituimus, et fecimus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, hered' et ſucceſſor' n'ris, aſſignamus, nominamus, ordinamus, conſtituimus, et facimus, dilectum nobis Robertum Mawe, arm', fore et eſſe primum et modernum recordatorem burgi pred'c'i, ad offic' illud exercend' et gerend', cum omnibus et omnimodis vadiis, feod', regard', et al's advantagiis quibuſcunque, ad inde pertinen' ſive inciden', durante vitâ naturali ipſius Roberti Mawe, niſi ab officio pred'c'o interim in formâ pred'c'â amotus fuerit, aut officium illud ſurſumredderit et reſignavit; quodque de tempore in tempus, et ad omnia tempora impoſterum, cum dict' officium recordatoris burgi pred'c'i per mortem, ſeu reddic'o'em, reſignationem, ceſſio'em, amov'em, vel forisfactur' pred'c'i moderni recordatoris, aut alicujus alii recordatoris pred'c'i burgi poſthac futur', aut aliter r'one quacunque, poſthac vacare contigerit, ac toties quoties caſus ſic accidit, benè liceat et licebit ald'r'o et capital' burgenſibus ejuſdem burgi pro tempore exiſten', vel majori parti eor', ac pred'c'is viginti quatuor burgen' de co'i conſilio burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel majori parti eor', unum al' virum diſcretum, in legibus Anglie peritum, ut recordator burgi pred'c'i, eligere, nominare, et preficere; quodque ille et quil't, qui in recordatorem burgi pred'c'i aliquo tempore impoſterum, ſic ut prefertur elect', prefect', et nominat' fuerit, officium illud recordatoris burgi pred'c'i exercere et gaudere valeat et poſſit durant' benepl'itis ald'r'i et burgenſium de Bury Sc'i Ed'i pred'c'i, aut majoris partis eor' pro tempore exiſten', aut quouſque aliquis alius recordator burgi pred'c'i ad officium illud debit' modo elect', prefect', et jurat' fuerit quil't hu'mo'i recordator ſacramentum corporale ad officium illud; rectè, benè, et fideliter in o'ibus officio illo tangen' ſive concernen', coram ald'r'o burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', prius preſtan'. Et ulterius, de uberiori gr'â n'râ ſpeciali, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, volumus, ac per preſentes pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus, prefato ald'r'o et burgenſibus de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod ipſi et ſucceſſores ſui imperpetuum

perpetuum habeant et habebunt, infra burgum pred'c'um, unum diſcretum et idoneum virum, per pred'c'os aldermanum et capitales burgenſes burgi pred'c'i, vel majorem partem eor' pro tempore exiſten', de tempore in tempus, quoties et quando neceſſe fuerit, vel eis aut majori parti eorum videbitur expedire, eligend' et nominand', ad rotul' curiar', irrotulament', intrac'o'es, pl'ita, recorda, proceſſus, precepta, et ad ib'em per ſe vel deputat' ſuum ſufficientem faciend' et ſcribend', et al' ad officium h'mo'i cl'ici pertinen' exequend'; qui quidem cl'icus ſic elect' erit et nominabitur "Clericus burgi" (Anglicè *the Town Clerk)* burgi predicti, ac curiarum et pacis ib'em; quodque quilibet clericus burgi pred'c'i, ſicut prefertur elect' et nominat', antequam ad officium illud exequend' admittatur, ſacr'm coporale coram ald'r'o et recordatore burgi pred'c'i, vel eorum altero pro tempore exiſten', ad officium illud cl'ci burgi pred'c'i, ac curiar' et pacis ib'em, ſecundum ejus ſcientiam, in o'ibus offic' ill' tangen', rectè et fideliter exequend', preſtabit; et quod poſt h'mo'i ſacr'm ſic preſtit' officium cl'ici burgi illius, ac cur' et pacis ib'em, exerceat et utatur in burgo pred'c'o, per ſe, vel per ſufficientem deputat' ſuum, cum omnibus et omnimodis vadiis, feodis, regardis, et aliis advantagiis quibuſcunque, d'c'o officio pertinen' ſive inciden'. Quapropter nos, ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, per preſentes aſſignamus, nominamus, creamus, conſtituimus, et facimus, dilectum nobis Joh'em Mallowes, gen', fore et eſſe primum et modernum clericum burgi de Bury Sc'i Ed'i predict' (Anglicè *the Town Clerk)* burgi pred'c'i, ac cur' et pacis ib'em, ad offic' illud exercend' et gerend', cum o'ibus et omnimodis vadiis, feodis, regardis, et aliis advantagiis quibuſcunque, ad dict' offic' pertinen' ſive inciden', durant' benè pl'itis ald'r'i et capital' burgenſium burgi predicti, vel majoris partis eorum pro tempore exiſten'; quodque de tempore in tempus, et ad omnia tempora poſt mortem vel amoc'o'em ipſius Johannis Mallowes, et cujuſlibet alterius cl'ici burgi pred'c'i poſthac futur', ad beneplacit' et libit' ald'r'i et capital' burgenſ' burgi predicti pro tempore exiſten', vel majoris partis eorum, predictus ald'r'us et capitales burgenſes burgi predicti, vel major pars eorum pro tempore exiſten', quando et quoties neceſſe fuerit, vel eis aut majori parti eorum videbitur expedire, unum alium virum diſcretum et idoneum, in legibus Anglie peritum, de tempore in tempus, in clericum burgi predicti, ac curiar' et pacis ibidem, eligere, nominare, et proficere, valeant et poſſint; quodque ille, et quilibet qui ſicut prefertur in cl'icum burgi pred'c'i, ac cur' et pacis ib'em, elect', profect', et nominat' fuerit, officium illud habere, exercere, et gaudere poſſit et valeat, de tempore in tempus, toties quoties caſus ſic accidit, duran' beneplacitis ald'r'i et capital' burgenſium burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel majoris partis eorum, quol't h'mo'i cl'ico ſacr'm corporale ad officium illud

benè et fideliter exequend' prius ut prefertur preſtando. Et ulterius conceſſimus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefat' ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Burie Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod ſi in electione alicujus ald'r'i, recordatoris, aſſiſtentis vel aſſiſtentium, burgenſis vel burgenſium, vel al' officiar' vel miniſtror' burgi predict', infra burgum predict', eligend', vel in ordinand', faciend', et conſtituend' leges et ordinac'o'es, vel in aliis negotiis infra burgum predictum fiend', ubi ald'r'us burgi predict' intereſſe debet et voluerit, voces equales fuerint, in numero equales ab invicem diſcordantes, tunc vocem ejuſdem ald'r'i de tempore in tempus pro tempore exiſten' pro duabus vocibus ſemper haberi volumus et teneri. Et ulterius, de uberiori gr'â n'râ ſpeciali, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, volumus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus eiſdem ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod ipſi et ſucceſſores ſui de cetero imp'p'm h'eant, teneant, et cuſtodiant, ac habere, tenere, et cuſtodire valeant et poſſint, infra burgum pred'c'um, viz. in Guihaldâ ejuſdem burgi, vel in aliquo alio loco infra precinct' burgi pred'c'i, ad diſcretionem ald'r'i et burgenſ' predict' pro tempore exiſten', vel majoris partis eorum, unam curiam de recordo, quol't die Jovis in quâlibet ſeptimanâ per annum, preterquam in ſeptimanâ feſti Natalis Domini, communiter vocat' *Chriſtmas Week*, quoties et quando iiſdem ald'r'o, recordatori, et capitalibus burgenſibus burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel tribus vel pluribus eorum, quorum prefat' ald'r'um vel recordatorem, vel aliquem capital' burgenſ' qui ald'r'us ib'm prius fuerit, ſemper unum eſſe volumus, videbitur expedire, coram ald'r'o, recordatore, et capital' burgenſ' burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel tribus vel pluribus eorum, quorum prefat' ald'r'um, recordatorem, vel unum capital' burgenſ' burgi pred'c'i qui ald'r'us burgi pred'c'i prius fuerit, pro tempore exiſten', ſemper unum eſſe volumus, tenend', cum omnibus juribus, juriſdictionibus, et privilegiis, h'mo'i cur' de recordo ſpectan', pertinen', vel inciden'; et quod in curiâ illâ tenere, audire, et terminari poſſint et valeant omnia et omnimoda pl'ita, querelas, informac'ones, acc'o'es, ſectas, loquelas, et demandas quecunque, tam perſonal' quam mixt', et de quibuſcunque trangreſſionibus perſonal' et mixt', et de quibuſcunque tranſgr' perſonal', vi et armis, ſeu aliter, in contemptum n'rum, hered' aut ſucceſſor' n'rorum, fact' ſeu fiend', et de quibuſcunque al' tranſgr' infra burgum predict', lib'tat', et precinct' ejuſdem, motis, ſurgentibus, h'itis, perpetrat', ſeu ſuppoſit', aut impoſterum fiend', movend', habend', perpetrand', contingend', ſeu ſupponend', ac de omnibus et omnimodis debit', detenc'on', tranſgr' ſuper caſum, computum, convenc'on', deten' chartar', ſcript', et muniment', et catallor' capt, et detention' averior' et catall', deception', contemptis,

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ſive offencis, contra formam alicujus ſtatuti antehac editi, ſeu impoſterum edendi, et de o'ibus contract' et materiis quibuſcunque, ex quibuſcunque cauſis ſive rebus, infra burgum predict', et precinct', limit', et lib'tat' ejuſdem, quovis modo emergentis vel emergendis, contingendis vel contingent', fact' ſeu faciend', aut ſuppoſit' vel ſupponend', dummodo h'mo'i pl'ita, acc'o'es, querele, informac'o'es, ſecte, loquele, vel demand', ſummam ſeu valorem quinquaginta librarum non excedant; et ſuper h'mo'i querelis, querimoniis, informationibus, acc'onibus, ſectis, et demandis, de tempore in tempus, perſonas def'tes, verſus quos h'mo'i querele, querimonie, informac'o'es, acc'o'es, ſecte, vel demande, in curiâ illâ aliquo tempore levari, haberi, vel moveri contigerint, in pl'tum deducere, tam per ſumonition', attachiamenta, et diſtricc'o'es, quam per alios modos proceſsûs quoſcunque, ſecundum legem et conſuetudinem regni Anglie, aut ſe'd'm formam cujuſcunque ſtatuti, vel ſe'd'm conſuetudinem vel conſuetudines in d'c'o burgo de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, vel in aliquâ civitate, burgo, aut villâ incorporat' infra hoc regnum Anglie uſitat', prout de tempore in tempus melius expedit' ſeu expedire videbitur, fiend'; ac ſervient' ad clavam, ſeu al' miniſtris burgi illius pro tempore exiſten', dirigend', et per ipſos vel eor' aliquem exequend' et retornand'; et pro defen' cattalor' et terrar' h'mo'i defen', infra predict' burgum, et precinct', lib'tat', et limitac'on' ejuſdem, inveniend', ubi ſive per que ſum'oniri attach' vel diſtringi poſſint, tunc per attach' et caption' corpor' ſuor', juxta conſuetudinem ſive conſuetudines in dicto burgo de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, vel in aliquâ civitate, burgo, aut villâ incorporat', infra hoc regnum Anglie uſitat', per predict' ſervient' ad clavam, vel al' miniſtros ſuos pro tempore exiſten', exequend' et retornand', de tempore in tempus procedere. Et quod omnia et ſingula h'mo'i querele, querimonie, informac'o'es, acc'o'es, ſect', et demand', ac pl'ita, querele, et exit' ſuperinde, et o'ia ea tangen' vel concernen', coram d'c'o ald'r'o, recordatore, et capital' burgenſibus pro tempore exiſten', vel tribus ſeu pluribus eorum, quorum ald'r'um vel recordatorem, vel unum capital' burgenſ' ejuſdem burgi qui officium ald'r'i ib'm prius ſuſtulit, de tempore in tempus pro tempore exiſten', ſemper unum eſſe volumus, in eadem curiâ audiantur et terminentur, et judic' ſuperinde reddantur, et dict' judic' debit' legis execuc'o'i demandentur, et per ſervient' ad clavam, et miniſtros ſuos proprios cur' et burgi pred'c'i, exequantur, de tempore in tempus, toties quoties caſus ita requiret, per tal' et conſimil' proceſſus, execuc'o'es, medios, et modos, ſec'd'm leges et conſuetudines regni n'ri Anglie, vel ſe'd'm formam alicujus ſtatuti, per qual' et prout dict' leges n're Anglie conſentanee fuerint, ac in tam amplis modo et formâ prout in curiâ n'râ de recordo infra villam ſive burgum pred'c'um, vel in aliquâ aliâ curiâ de recordo in aliquâ civitate, burgo, aut villâ incorporat', infra hoc regnum n'rum Anglie, uſitat' et

conſuet' eſt, vel ante hec tempora uſitat' et conſuet' fuit; et quod predictus ald'r'us de tempore in tempus pro tempore exiſten' omnia et omnimoda fines, exitus, et amerciamenta, in eadem curiâ aſſeſſ', taxat', perdit', et forisfact', et omnia alia proficua quecunque de ead' curiâ, perpetuis futuris temporibus, de tempore in tempus proveniend', habeat, percipiat, et gaudeat, ad uſum ſuum proprium, abſque aliquo computo vel proviſione de nobis, heredibus vel ſucceſſoribus n'ris faciend'. Et inſuper volumus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefat' ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſor' ſuis, quod de cetero in perpetuum ſint et erint in burgo pred'c'o duo officiarii, ad elecc'o'em prefat' ald'r'i et capital' burgenſ', vel majoris partis eorum, qui erunt et vocabuntur "Servientes ad clavas," et miniſtros curie burgi pred'c'i deſervitur', et pro proclamatione arreſtat', et execuc'o'e proceſsûs, mandator', et al' negotior', ad officium ſervientis ad clavam burgi predict', lib'tat', limit', bundas, et precincta ejuſdem pertinentia, de tempore in tempus peragend' et exequend'; qui quidem ſervientes ad clavas, ſicut prefertur appunctuat', nominat', et elect', erunt attendentes de tempore in tempus ſuper ald'r'um burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten'; quodque predicti ſervientes ad clavas, ſic ut prefertur eligend' et nominand', ad officia ſua pred'c'a benè et fideliter exercend' debito modo jurat' ſint et erunt coram ald'r'o et recordatore, et al' capital' burgenſ' burgi pred'c'i, vel tribus vel plur' eorum, quor' prefat' ald'r'us vel recordator pro tempore exiſten' unum eſſe volumus; et quod poſt h'mo'i ſacr'um ſic preſtit' offic' ill' duran' tantummodo benepl'ito ald'r'i et capital' burgenſium burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel majoris partis eorum, exequi et exercere debeant, valeant, et poſſint, et eorum quil't valeat et poſſit. Et ulterius volumus, ordinamus, et per preſentes, pro nobis, hered' et ſucceſſor' n'ris, concedimus prefato ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Bury S'ci Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod predicti ſervientes ad clavas, in villâ predictâ deputand', clavas deauratas vel argentas, et ſigno armorum no'rum, hered' et ſucceſſor' n'rorum, ſculpt' et ornat', ubique infra dictum burgum, ſuburbas, lib'tat', et precinct' ejuſdem, coram ald'r'o burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten' portabunt et gerent. Et ulterius volumus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefat' ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod ald'r'us et capitales burgenſes burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel major pars eorum, quorum ald'r'um burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten' unum eſſe volumus, de tempore in tempus, facere, appunctuare, et conſtituere poſſint et valeant tot et tantos alios inferior' officiar' infra burgum pred'c'um, quot et quant' eiſdem ald'r'o et capital' burgen' burgi pred'c'i, vel majori parti eor', quorum ald'r'um burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten' unum eſſe volumus, neceſſar' et requiſit' fore videbuntur, et

et eos vel eor' aliquem, ad libitum d'c'i ald'r'i et capital' burgenſ' burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel majori parti eorum, quorum ald'r'us burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten' unum eſſe volumus, amovere et mutare. Et ulterius, de gr'â n'râ ſpeciali, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, volumus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefat' ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod ald'r'us burgi illius pro tempore exiſten', et recordator, et quatuor aſſiſtentes burgi pred'cti pro tempore exiſten', quamdiu ald'r'us, recordator, et aſſiſtentes burgi pred'c'i ſteterint et fuerint, de cetero imp'p'm ſint et erunt, et eorum quilibet ſit et erit, cuſtodes pacis noſtre, heredum et ſucceſſor' n'rorum, ac juſtic'ii n'ri, ac heredum et ſucceſſorum n'rorum, ac pacem n'ram, hered' et ſucceſſor' n'rorum, in eod' burgo, et lib'tat' et precinct' ejuſ'm, conſervand', ac ad omnia ordinac'o'es ac ſtatuta, pro bono pacis n're, hered' et ſucceſſor' n'rorum, ac pro conſervac'one ejuſdem, et pro quieto regimine et quietâ gubernac'o'e populi n'ri, heredum et ſucceſſor' n'rorum, edit' et edend', in omnibus et ſingulis ſuis articulis, infra pred'c'um burgum, et lib'tat' et precincta ejuſdem, juxta vim, formam, et effectum eorundem, cuſtodiend', et cuſtodire faciend', et ad omnes, contra formam ordinac'on' vel ſtatut' illor', vel eor' alicujus, infra dict' burgum, et lib'tat' et precinct' ejuſdem, delinquen', caſtigand' et puniend', prout ſe'd'm formam ordinac'on' et ſtatut' ill' fuerint faciend', et ad omnes illos qui alicui vel aliquibus de populo n'ro, vel heredum vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, de corpore ſuo, vel de incendiis domorum ſuarum, minas fecerint, ad ſufficien' ſecuritat' de pace, vel bono geſtu ſuo, erga nos, heredes et ſucceſſores n'ros, et populum n'rum, et heredum et ſucceſſor' n'rorum, inveniend', coram eis, ſeu eorum aliquo, venire faciend'. Et ſi h'mo'i ſecurit' invenire recuſav'rit, tunc eos in priſonâ burgi pred'c'i, quouſque h'mo'i ſecuritat' invenerint, ſalvâ cuſtodiâ faciend'. Et quod ipſi, et tres vel plures eorum, quorum prefat' ald'r'um et recordatorem burgi pred'c'i de tempore in tempus pro tempore exiſten' ſemper duos eſſe volumus, ſint juſticiarii n'ri, hered' et ſucceſſor' n'rorum, ad inquirend' pro ſacr'm proborum et legalium hominum burgi predict', per quos rei veritas melius ſciri poterit, de o'ibus et o'imodis feloniis, venefic', inchant', ſacrileg', arte magicâ, t'nſgreſſion', foreſtallag', regrator', ingroſſar', et extortionibus quibuſcunque, ac de omnibus et ſingulis aliis malefactis ac offenſis, de quibus juſtic' pacis n're, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, l'timè inquir' poſſunt aut debent, aut impoſterum poterunt vel debuerunt, per quoſcunque et qualeſcunque in burgo predicto, vel infra lib'tat' et precinct' ejuſdem, fact' ſive perpetrat', vel que ibidem fieri vel attemptari contigerint, ac etiam de o'ibus illis qui infra burgum predict', vel lib'tat' vel precinct' ejuſdem, in conventiculis, contra pacem n'ram, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, in perturbac'on'

turbac'on' populi n'ri, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, vel vi armat' ierint vel equitaverint, vel impoſterum ire vel equitare preſumpſerint, ac etiam de o'ibus his qui ib'm ad gentem n'ram, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, mahemand' vel interficiend' in inſidiis jacuer', vel impoſterum jacere preſumpſerint; ac etiam de hoſtellar', et o'ibus et ſingulis perſonis, qui in abuſu ponderum et menſurar', ſive in vendic'one victual', contra form' ordinac'on' vel ſtatuor' n'rorum, vel alicujus progenitor' n'rorum, vel hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, vel eorum alicujus, inde pro communi utilitate regni n'ri Anglie, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, vel populi n'ri, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, ejuſdem regni edict' et edend', delinquerint vel attemptaverint, vel impoſterum delinquere vel attemptare preſumpſerint, infra burgum predict', vel infra lib'tat' et precinct' ejuſdem; ac etiam de quibuſcunque vicecomitibus, ballivis, ſeneſcallis, conſtabular', cuſtod' gaol' et goal', et al' officiar', qui in execuc'one officior' ſuor' circa premiſſa, vel eorum aliquem, indebitè ſe habuerint, aut impoſterum indebitè ſe habere preſumpſerint, aut tep'di, remiſſi, vel negligent' fuerint, aut impoſterum fore contigerint, in burgo pred'c'o, lib'tat' et precinct' ejuſdem; et de o'ibus et ſingulis articulis et circumſtantiis, et al' rebus quibuſcunque, per quoſcunque et qualitercunque, infra burgum pred'c'um, vel lib'tat' vel precinct' ejuſdem, fact' ſive perpetrat', vel que impoſterum ib'm fieri vel attemptari contigerit qual'cunque, premiſſis ſive eorum aliquâ concernen', vel que per juſtic' n'ros, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, pacis n're, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, infra aliquam comitat', infra dictum regnum Anglie, conſervand', aſſign' vel aſſignand', inquiri, audiri, et terminari uſi fuerunt, conſuerunt, vel debuerunt, vel debent, vel impoſterum inquiri, audiri, et terminari pertinebunt, vel licitè ordinat' fuerit, plenius veritat', ceteraque omnia et ſingula, infra burgum predict', lib'tat' et precinct' ejuſdem, faciend', exercend', exequend', gaudend', audiend', et termidand', que ad officium cuſtodis vel juſticiarii pacis n're, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, infra dict' regnum Anglie, licitè pertinent, vel impoſterum juxta leges et ſtatuta vel conſuetudines d'c'i regni pertinebunt, et per h'mo'i juſtic' fieri et exerceri, exequi, gaudere, audiri, vel terminari, ordinat' fuerit, prout al' juſtic' pacis n're, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, infra dictum regnum, faciunt, exercent, exequuntur, gaudent, audiunt, et terminant, vel facere, exercere, exequi, gaudere, audire, et terminari debent vel poſſunt, queant vel valeant, vel impoſterum debuerunt, poterint, quibunt, vel valebunt, vel pro h'mo'i juſtic' pacis fieri, exerceri, exequi, gauderi, vel terminari, impoſterum ordinat' fuerit; et ad proceſſ' verſus omnes et ſingulas perſonas, quas coram eis, aut aliquibus tribus vel pluribus eorum, quorum prefat' ald'r'um et recordatorem burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten' ſemper duos eſſe volumus, impoſterum indictari contigerint, quouſque capiantur, reddant ſe, vel utlagentur, faciend'

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et continuand' ; et ad omnia et ſingula felon', beneficia, incanc', ſacrileg', art' magic', tranſgreſſion', foreſtallar', regrat', ingroſſ', extorc'o'es, conventicula, et indictamenta predict', ceteraque omnia et ſingula premiſſa, ſc'd'm leges et ſtatuta regni pred'c'i, prout in h'mo'i caſu fieri conſuevit aut debuit, aut impoſterum licitè fieri ordinat' fuerit et debuerit, audiend' et terminand' ; et ad eoſdem delinquentes, et eorum queml't, pro delictis ſuis, per fines, redemc'o'es, amerciamenta, forisfactur', et al' modos, prout ſc'd'm legem et conſuetudinem dicti regni, aut formam ordinac'on' vel ſtatut' ejuſdem edit', vel impoſterum edend', fieri conſuevit aut debuit, aut fieri impoſterum ordinat' fuerit aut debuerit, caſtigand' et puniend'. Et ulterius, de uberiori gr'â n'râ, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, conceſſimus, ac per preſentes concedimus, pro nobis, hered' et ſucceſſor' n'ris, preſat' ald'r'o et burgenſibus de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod pred'c'i ald'r'us, recordator, et quatuor aſſiſten' burgi pred'c'i, et ſucceſſores ſui, ald'r'us, recordator, et aſſiſtentes ejuſdem burgi, qui impoſterum de tempore in tempus fuerint vel fuerit, quamdiu ald'r'us, recordator, et aſſiſtentes burgi pred'c'i fuerint, aut tres vel plures eorum, quorum preſat' ald'r'um et recordatorem ſemper duos eſſe volumus, de tempore in tempus imp'p'um futuris temporibus, ſint juſtic' n'ri, hered' et ſucceſſor' noſtr', ad gaol' burgi pred'c'i de priſonar' in eadem exiſten', et de tempore in tempus impoſterum eidem gaole committend', de tempore in tempus delib'and' ; et omnia et ſingula eadem, tot, tal', et tanta poteſtat', authoritat', jura, res, acta, et facta, infra burgum predictum habeant, gaudeant, faciant, exerceant, et exequantur, prout et que aliqui al' juſtic' ad gaol' delib'and' infra aliquem com' infra d'c'um regnum Anglie aſſignat', vel impoſter' aſſignand' ibidem, habent, gaudent, faciuut, exercent, vel exequuntur, vel impoſterum h'ere, gaudere, facere, exercere, vel exequi debent vel poſſunt, vel impoſterum debuerint vel poterint ; et ad omnia br'ia, precepta, mandat', et warrant', concernen' premiſſa, ſint et erunt de tempore in tempus ſervientes ad clavam, et miniſtri pred'c'i ald'r'i et burgen' et ſucceſſor' ſuor' pro tempore exiſten', direct' et dirigend' ; et quod ipſi conjunctim vel ſeparatim faciant et facere poſſint execuc'o'em eorundem, et attachiamenta jurat' intenden', et judicior' execuc'o'es ib'm ac rectorum, et certificac'onem eorundem de tempore in tempus, quoties caſus ſic requieret ; ita quod nullus juſtic' vel cuſtos pacis n're, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, nec aliquis juſtic' n'ri, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, ad aliqua felon', tranſgreſſion', ſeu alia malefacta audiend' et terminand', gaol' delib'and', ſive ad faciend' qualitercunque aſſignat' ſeu aſſignand', preterquam predict' ald'r'us, recordator, et aſſiſten' dicti burgi pro tempore exiſten', ac ſervientes, miniſtr', vel alii officiarii ſui, pro tempore exiſten', ſeſe de vel in pred'c'o burgo de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, aut in precinct', paroch', et libitat' ejuſdem, aut infra

limit'

limit' eorundem, aut de ho'ibus, rebus, vel negotiis aliquibus ib'm emerg' vel emergend', contingent', contingend', ſeu exiſten', ad aliquod quod ad officium juſtic' pacis, infra dictum burgum, lib'tat', aut precincta ejuſdem, aut ad delib'ac'or' gaol' ejuſdem burgi pertinen' faciend', aliqualiter ingrediatur, ſeu intromittat, aut ingredi preſumat; ita tamen quod ad triac'on' vel determinac'on' alicujus prodic'onis, vel miſpriſion' prodic'onis, infra burgum pred'c'um, aliquo modo non precedant, nec eorum aliqui vel aliquis procedant vel procedat, abſque ſpeciali warranto n'ri, hered' vel ſucceſſor' n'rorum, in eâ parte prius obtent'. Et ulterius nos, de uberiori gr'â n'râ, ac ex certâ ſcientiâ et mero motu n'ris, conceſſimus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefat' ald'r'o et burgenſibus de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod ipſi et ſucceſſores ſui imp'p'm habeant et habebunt, ac exercere valeant, ſemper impoſterum, infra et per totum burgum predict', precinct', lib'tat', et limit' inde, per ald'r'um et capital' burgenſes ejuſdem burgi pro tempore exiſten', vel major' partem eorum, aſſiſam et aſſaiam panis, vini, et cerviſie, et omnium eſculentor', poculent', ac victual', ac viſum, exa'iac'o'em, ſcrutinium, amendac'o'nem, correcc'onem, aſſeſſat' et taxat' eorum, et cujuſl't eorum, necnon omnia et omnimoda amerciamenta, mi'as, redempc'o'es, preſtac'o'es, forisfacturas, emend' denar', ſummas, vadios, feod', regard', et al' proficua adinde pertinentia, incidentia, ſive ſpectan', aut quocunque caſu, tranſgreſſion', h'mo'i aſſiſ', aſſaiarum, et al' rerum predict', dand', concedand', preſtand', ſive forisfaciend', per ald'r'um burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', vel miniſtros ſuos, ad uſum ejuſdem ald'r'i pro tempore exiſten' levand', percipiend', et retinend', abſque comp'o nobis, hered' vel ſucceſſoribus n'ris, proinde reddend'. Et ulrerius conceſſimus, ac per preſentes, pro nobis, heredibus et ſucceſſoribus n'ris, concedimus prefat' ald'r'o et burgenſ' de Bury Sc'i Ed'i, in com' Suffolk, et ſucceſſoribus ſuis, quod ald'r'us ejuſdem burgi pro tempore exiſten' imperpetuum, tam in preſentiâ n'râ, hered' et ſucceſſor' n'rorum, quam in abſentiâ n'ri, hered' et ſucceſſor' n'rorum, de cetero ſit et erit cl'icus mercati et mercator', teriar', et nundinor' quorumcunque, infra burgum pred'c'um; ſuburbas, lib'rtat', limit', et precinct' ejuſdem; et quod ald'r'us burgi pred'c'i pro tempore exiſten', per ſe vel deputat' ſuum, ſive deputat' ſuos, faciat et exequatur, ac facere et exequi poſſit et valeat imp'p'm, tot et quicquid quod ad officium cl'ici mercator' ib'm pertinet faciend' et exequend', ac omnia alia facta et res agend' et peragend', que ad offic' illud infra eundem burgum, ſuburbas et precinct' ejuſdem, pertinet vel impoſterum pertinebit, faciend' et exequend'; et quod idem ald'r'us et ſucceſſores ſui de tempore in tempus pro tempore exiſten' omnia et ſingula exit', fines, amerciamenta, penas, penalitat', et forisfacturas, coram ipſo

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*** Communications upon any of the subjects of the foregoing Chapters will be thankfully received, and gratefully acknowledged.

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

The present Portion of this Work contains the following Letter Press Sheets.

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BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Yates, Richard.

An illustration of the monastic history ... of the town and abbey of St. Edmunds Bury

London 1805

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